



MAECENAS

Peter Mountford



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Maecenas

While much has been written of the importance of Agrippa in Augustus' rise to power as the first emperor of Rome, Maecenas remains a shadowy figure despite being a vital part in the success of Augustus. After the assassination of Julius Caesar, Maecenas was a vital negotiator between Octavian and Mark Antony in the years leading up to the battle of Actium, and a wise political advisor to Augustus during the early years of the new regime. This is the first biography of Maecenas in English and gives due credit to the stature of Maecenas both as a confidant of the emperor and as patron of the poets Virgil, Horace and Propertius. The book devotes a chapter to each poet's relationship with Maecenas and the Augustan regime: the chapter on Virgil, while considering his relationship to Maecenas and Augustus, argues that the origins of his choice of Aeneas may lie in Etruria rather than elsewhere, while the chapter on Horace assesses one of the closest documented relationships of Roman history. The chapter on Propertius wrestles with the disparate views of scholars on the question of his relationship with the Augustan regime and argues that, at heart, he remains an Umbrian/Etruscan rather than a Roman. A crucial feature of the book is the provision of 161 texts from ancient Roman and Greek authors which mention Maecenas. Based on sustainable evidence this study of the importance of Maecenas takes scholarship in new and important directions.

Peter Mountford completed his PhD research in 2016 following his retirement as a teacher of Classics in both the UK and Australia. He is an Honorary Fellow at the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia.

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Introduction

Maecenas was one of the most important figures of the second half of the first century BC, but at the same time he was an enigmatic figure. The purpose of this biography is to establish what the ancient sources can tell us about him. It examines books by modern scholars in order to discover what view they hold concerning Maecenas, his role under Augustus and his relationship with Augustan writers. The aim is, by assessing all this information, to establish a sustainable portrait of Maecenas.

Before investigating the life of Maecenas, there are two unresolved issues which have an important bearing upon any investigation of Maecenas. The first is whether we can identify any artistic representation of Maecenas. The second concerns the current anonymity of the *Consolatio ad Liviam* and the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*. This introduction addresses both these issues.

Artistic representations

In the front of André's book (1967) on Maecenas there is a portrait bust which is presumed to be Maecenas.¹ This led to research for all possible representations of Maecenas. This research identified six representations, four ancient (?) and two modern. Of the ancient ones, there is a bust in the National Archaeological Museum in Arezzo.² Secondly, there is a portrait bust from the Capitoline Museum in Rome, originally identified as Maecenas.³ Thirdly, there is a very similar portrait bust from Coole Park in County Galway, Ireland.⁴ Fourthly, there is the figure in the background, third from right, on the southern frieze of the *Ara Pacis*.⁵ These are discussed in turn.

The first, the bust in the National Archaeological Museum at Arezzo (Arretium), was discovered in 1958. Andreae (2005) has mounted a strong argument that the bust is a portrait of Maecenas, based on the date of the portrait.⁶ He argues that it was produced in Rome by an imperial workshop in the Augustan Age and must have been a portrait of someone from Arezzo who was of importance in Rome about 20 BC. He considers Maecenas to be the only suitable candidate. There cannot be any other important person from Arezzo at that time for whom a portrait would have been



Figure I.1 Male portrait head from Arezzo Museum.

made by an imperial workshop in Rome. The arguments which he makes are very convincing. The bust is of high quality and is very similar in hair-style to other busts of the period, such as busts of Augustus and Agrippa.⁷ Jane Fejfer makes an important point about such portrait heads:

In their portrait heads, Roman men and women styled themselves on the emperor and empress – in the pose of the head, in the arrangement of hair and beard, in facial expression, and even in physiognomy. Private portraits are therefore usually described and interpreted with regard to the main trends that were current in imperial portraiture.⁸

This head in Arezzo has a hairstyle which closely reflects the current trend of the Augustan period. The production of portrait busts was a common practice among the patrician and equestrian classes in the Augustan Age. There are many portraits of Augustus and several of Agrippa, but not yet one confirmed as Maecenas. The portrait head is also beardless like those of Augustus and Agrippa and so reflects the age. Not far from this male head, archaeologists had discovered, in 1925, a female head, which Andreae identifies as Terentia, Maecenas' wife.⁹ Although the surface of the marble is degraded, the portrait is clearly of a fine looking woman with a hairstyle very similar to portraits of Livia in the last quarter of the first century BC.¹⁰ Jane Fejfer considers that: 'In female portraits personal identity was usually suppressed and replaced by an idealizing beauty, which was perceived by the Romans as a virtue'.¹¹ In many respects the female head in Arezzo resembles portraits of Livia. Elizabeth Bartman includes this portrait in an appendix of portraits previously identified as Livia, but now discounted.¹² While she concedes that there are many similarities to portraits known to be Livia, she considers that 'various discrepancies of the head combine to rule out identification as the empress'. In regard to women following imperial style, Fejfer concludes:

However, in spite of variations and the occasional preference for an earlier hairstyle, a strikingly close relationship seems to have existed between the portraits of the empress and that of her fellow women, regarding both the idealized facial beauty and the changing hairstyles. This is the case already in the Augustan period.¹³

Although the portraits were not found next to each other, it does not mean that the two portraits did not originally belong to statues which were placed next to each other in a prominent place in the town. It was common for male statues to be set up in public places, less so for ones of women. The presence of a female head from the Augustan period, made also in an imperial workshop in Rome, argues for a link to an important male from Arezzo. The natural conclusion is that it is Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, and that the people were honouring her husband, a citizen of Arezzo who had risen to prominence and had such an impact on this period of Roman history.

Jane Fejfer states that the practice of erecting honorific statues in municipal towns began 'around the middle of the first century BC', as such towns heavily relied on benefactions from those citizens who could afford it.¹⁴ She argues that such benefactions were rewarded in a variety of ways and that the honorific statue was the highest honour which could be paid, because it

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would enhance the reputation of the family and ensure that the family would be remembered in perpetuity. The award of honorific statues meant that the elite of the town competed with each other to be honoured in this way. Although such statues honoured those who were part of ‘the imperial administration’, the majority honoured local benefactors.¹⁵ Maecenas would qualify in both respects. It is highly probable that the town of Arretium (Arezzo) would erect an honorific statue for Maecenas, a local citizen, to honour his significant work in returning Italy peace after the long period of destructive civil wars. Chillet discusses at length the benefits which came to Italy during this period and Maecenas’ role in the process.¹⁶ There is no written evidence of how Maecenas’ family rose to prominence in Arretium. There is evidence that Maecenas had estates on the east coast of Italy where fine wines were produced. In the first century BC Arretium was renowned for its fine pottery, one of the major sources of pottery in Italy. Perhaps Maecenas’ family was involved in the pottery trade and were, thus, benefactors of the town, since the trade provided employment and brought considerable wealth to the town.

Bernoulli identified as Maecenas the second, the oversized bust in the Capitoline Museum, which André used in his book. He produced a profile line drawing of the head. Bernoulli saw a similarity to a gem which was thought to represent Maecenas.¹⁷ Jones argued, however, that this view should be discounted, as he was convinced that the bust belonged to the seventeenth century AD, although he conceded that it could be a copy of



Figure I.2 Male and female heads from Arezzo Museum.

some ancient bust which no longer existed.¹⁸ Buchan wrote that Maecenas was ‘a striking figure, with hollow eyes, and strong, harsh features that lacked the Roman modelling. His manner, in spite of his rugged appearance, was oddly effeminate.’¹⁹ It seems likely that, although Buchan did not show any reference for his description, this is the image upon which he based his description. If by ‘Roman modelling’ he means that the bust was unlike other known Roman busts, it is difficult to agree, as it seems very similar in style and features to many busts of the period which are considered to be of Romans. Buchan’s comment on his manner is based on literary evidence rather than this possible artistic representation. In spite of Jones’ pronouncement, André included this bust as a representation of Maecenas.²⁰

There are close similarities between this bust and the third, that from Coole Park, such as the pattern at the top of the drapery around the neck. Although the Coole Park bust seems to represent a younger man, many of the facial features of the two busts are similar. The guide to Coole Park states that the colossal bust (four gardeners were needed to move it into its current setting in the garden) was brought to Coole House from Italy by Richard Gregory early in the nineteenth century.²¹ The Coole Park bust has the name Maecenas inscribed on its plinth. This very fact suggests that it is a later copy, as Roman portrait busts very rarely have names to identify them. There is no further information about the provenance of the bust. It seems very likely, however, that it was produced in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century AD.

There has been much discussion over the years about the fourth, the figure in the background third from right on the south frieze from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* in Rome which portrays the imperial family. Scholars are divided on this issue, although more support the identification of the figure



Figure I.3 Ara Pacis Augustae, South Frieze.

as Maecenas than any other suggestion.²² The key argument for those who think that it is not Maecenas (except Simon 1967) is that the south frieze is said to represent the imperial family, and Maecenas is not a member of that family. It should be pointed out that not all members of this panel are members of the family. It should also be pointed out that many of the heads have been restored in modern times, although the background heads, such as those of Sextus Appuleius and Maecenas (?), have only had repairs made to their noses and ears. The very badly damaged figures at the head of the procession are considered to be lictors. They are followed by *pontifices and augures*, who precede Augustus. Bianchi (1994) argues that the only two figures whose identity is not in doubt are those of Augustus and Agrippa.²³ Bianchi identifies the three figures following Augustus as the *flamines maiores*, who are followed by the *flamen Iulialis* [sic], the priest in charge of the cult of the divine Julius. She identifies this figure as Sextus Appuleius, a member of the imperial family, the son of Augustus' half-sister Octavia, who had been appointed to this position on the death of Mark Antony.²⁴ If Simon (1967) is correct in identifying the figure of a child slightly to Livia's right as a 'barbarian child', based on the child's dress, this would be another figure which is not a member of the family.²⁵ Others, however, identify the child as Gaius Caesar and the female figure with her hand on his head as Julia.²⁶ It seems very unlikely that a barbarian child would be included in such an expensive sculptural work rather than one of the children in the imperial family.²⁷ There are, therefore, several figures, apart from the lictors, which are not part of the family. Although Bianchi identifies the figure of interest to us as Maecenas, she concedes that others, because of the lack of a family link, believe that it is the father of Sextus Appuleius.²⁸ This is the view of Holloway (1984) and Rossini (2012).²⁹ Mlasowsky (2010) suggests either Sextus Appuleius or Maecenas.³⁰ Erika Simon (1967) initially identified it as Horace, but later (2012) thought that it was not Horace, but a nameless old man.³¹ Syme (1986), however, thought that 'it was an exorbitant claim that either [Horace or Maecenas] should appear in an aristocratic gallery when it could be a consular connected to the Augustan family, such as Paullus the Censor'.³² It is difficult to agree with Erika Simon's earlier opinion, as Horace is described by Suetonius as short and fat, but the figure does not seem to match this requirement.³³ Orietta Rossini (2012), in the latest guide to the *Ara Pacis*, claims that this figure has been 'traditionally identified as Sextus Appuleius *pater*, consul in 29 BC'.³⁴

Moretti (1948) identified the figure as Maecenas.³⁵ He is followed by Jocelyn Toynbee (1953), Keiser (1957), Earl (1968), Emanuela Bianchi (1994), Andreae (2005) and Coarelli (2014).³⁶ It would be satisfying to think that they are correct, although there seems to be no evidence to confirm who this figure is, except for the argument put forward by Andreae, who, while conceding that others have identified the figure as Sextus Appuleius, argues strongly that the similarities between the bust in Arezzo and the profile



Figure I.4 Head from Ara Pacis Augustae.



Figure I.5 Male head from Arezzo Museum.

head are so great, even when allowing for a noticeable difference in age, that they must be the same person.³⁷ If, therefore, he is correct in his identification of the head from Arezzo, those who have identified the profile head as Maecenas must also be correct. Andreae's arguments are very convincing, as there are strong resemblances between the bust in Arezzo and the figure on the *Ara Pacis*. It is possible that Augustus included in the background towards the end of the procession a representation of the man who had done so much for him, largely in the background. It is worth remembering that about 22 BC, Augustus dedicated his autobiography to Agrippa and Maecenas.³⁸ It seems just as likely that he would include a representation of Maecenas on the *Ara Pacis* as include less significant members of his own family, especially since Agrippa, his other major supporter and a member of his family by marriage, was represented. The altar is dedicated to the peace which Augustus had brought to Rome and Italy following the end of the Civil Wars. The member of the 'third triumvirate' who consistently worked for an end of the Civil Wars and the establishment of peace was Maecenas.³⁹ It would, therefore, be very appropriate for a representation of the 'peacemaker' to be included on the Altar of Peace.

Of the four ancient representations, Andreae has mounted a convincing argument that the head from Arezzo is a portrait of Maecenas and a contemporary one. Only it and the profile head on the south frieze of the *Ara Pacis* can be shown to be originals from the Augustan age. There do

seem to be very strong similarities between these two figures, as Andreae has argued.⁴⁰ The other two seem to be reproductions of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries AD. The two modern representations are paintings by Tiepolo and Jalabert.⁴¹ There are similarities between the profile face of Maecenas in the pictures and the bust in the Capitoline Museum. It is interesting that their pictures and the Capitoline and Coole Park busts seem to have been identified as productions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and even mid-nineteenth centuries.⁴² It is possible that all these modern representations were based upon a contemporary portrait of Maecenas, which no longer exists. Andreae has argued that a portrait of Maecenas did exist, but, as the bust at Arezzo was not discovered until 1958 and identified as Maecenas by him in 2005, the busts from the Capitoline Museum, Coole Park and the figures in the paintings of Tiepolo and Jalabert cannot be based on it. It cannot, therefore, be stated with any certainty that these representations of Maecenas are copies of a contemporary portrait. Although it is not possible to state that such a portrait existed, it is clear, however, that, although there are similarities in these various representations of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, they vary in some ways from the bust from Arezzo, which Andreae has identified as Maecenas, such as the mouth and the hair. There are also identifiable similarities, such as the cheek bones, the forehead and the lines above the nose.

While there is a possibility that two of these representations, the Capitoline head and the Coole Park bust, might be Maecenas or be based on a contemporary portrait of him, there is no written description of him in all the traceable texts which refer to him and could help in the identification of any portrait head. It does, however, seem highly likely that the head from Arezzo and, therefore, the figure on the *Ara Pacis* do provide a portrait of this important figure from the Augustan Age. There certainly does not seem to be an alternative identification for the head from Arezzo. This identification is supported by the discovery of a Livian style head, also from an imperial workshop of the same period, close to the male head. Although it was common for male portrait heads to be displayed in public, it was unusual for this to happen with female portraits. This suggests that the two contemporaneous heads from imperial workshops, although found a short distance apart in modern times, were displayed together. The woman must have been the wife of a notable male, in other words Terentia, the wife of Maecenas. Whatever is the correct attribution of the head on the *Ara Pacis*, there can be little doubt that the head from Arezzo is that of Maecenas.

Textual evidence for Maecenas

Research identified one hundred and sixty-one Latin and Greek texts which named Maecenas from thirty-five authors ranging in time from the first century BC to the seventh century AD.⁴³ These texts are to be found in

Appendix A together with a translation. (Translations are provided for the benefit of those who do not know Latin or Greek.) It is upon these texts that the biography presented of Maecenas is based. Among them are the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, which are considered by many to be by an unknown author. In my doctoral thesis I argued that the author was Augustus himself. Since the completion of my doctorate, I have been able to research this issue further and strengthen the view which I put forward in my thesis. If the author is Augustus, it makes a great deal of difference to the weight which we attach to the *Elegies* as a source of information about Maecenas. This research led me even further to consider the authorship of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, which is also considered to be by an unknown author. There are some, as we shall see, who argue that both are written by the same author. This began in 1573, when Scaliger published both works together and ascribed them to Albinovanus Pedo. The question is whether he is correct or there are other possible solutions.

The anonymity of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*

The *Consolatio*, also known as the *Epicedion Drusi*, was contained among the works of Ovid from as early as 1474 and remained there until Scaliger (1573) assigned it and the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* to Albinovanus Pedo.⁴⁴ Most continued to include it in the works of Ovid until the 1930s, except Gorallus (1703) who followed Scaliger. Gorallus in his preface to the 1703 version of Scaliger's text does end by wondering why Scaliger and others ascribe the poems to Albinovanus, when a note on an earlier manuscript suggests that the author is unknown. Those who ascribed it to Ovid were no doubt encouraged by what they saw as similarities to Ovid's poetry in the *Consolatio*. Schoonhoven lists ten parallel passages and fifty-six part similarities to the poems of Ovid, although in his *Preface* he indulges in hyperbole when he describes the author as 'an anonymous poet who manifestly shows off Ovid in almost every line'.⁴⁵ He dismisses Skutsch (1901) and Vollmer (1918), who see Ovid as a plagiarist, even though it is widely accepted that Ovid made much use of Virgil in his poetry. Tarrant, for example, is particularly strong in his accusation of Ovid for borrowing Virgil's work.⁴⁶ It should be remembered that plagiarism did not carry the same opprobrium among ancient writers that it does today. There are indeed parallels to Ovid in the *Consolatio*, but it can be argued that Ovid used this earlier material in his poetry rather than vice versa, or that they both have an earlier, common source.

There are those who argue that the *Consolatio* was written much later than the death of Drusus in 9 BC. For example, Schoonhoven puts forward the unlikely scenario of an unnamed poet in about AD 54 pretending to be Ovid and writing what is really a political attack on Nero and one in support of Britannicus.⁴⁷ Both Richmond and Butrica cast doubt upon this

theory.⁴⁸ The question is why someone would write such a consolation, either some years after Drusus' death or even after the death of Livia in AD 29. Surely it is logical to think that it was written very close to the time of his death, when it might well console the distraught Livia. Scaliger ascribes it to the contemporary poet, Albinovanus Pedo, together with the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*. Bickel considered that the same poet composed both, but at the time of the deaths of Drusus and Maecenas.⁴⁹ The Duffs agree with Scaliger that both are written by the same author, but disagree with his ascription to Albinovanus Pedo and consider the author to be unknown.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Copray and Schoonhoven both consider that the poet of the *Consolatio* is different from that of the *Elegiae*.⁵¹ If we are to follow Scaliger, Bickel and the Duffs, who argue for the same author for both the *Consolatio* and the *Elegiae*, and it can be shown that Augustus is the author of the *Elegiae*, then we should decide that Augustus wrote the *Consolatio* too, as the first line of the first *Elegy* (*defleram iuvenis tristimodo carmine fata* – I had recently mourned for the fate of a young man with my sad poem) seems to suggest.⁵² It might indeed be a natural thing for Augustus to write the *Consolatio*. There are, however, some objections to this proposition.

First, Augustus had already delivered the eulogy to Drusus at his funeral in which he must have addressed many of the ideas contained in the *Consolatio*. Perhaps *carmine* is a poetical description of this speech.⁵³ Secondly, the *Consolatio* lacks the warmth and familiarity that one would expect from a poem written by Augustus to his wife of almost thirty years. The poem seems much too deferential, not just towards Livia, but to the imperial family as a whole, for it to be written by Augustus. Thirdly, consider line 64 in which the author writes that Augustus did not deserve to suffer personal loss in the way in which 'we the common people do' (*quae nos patimur vulgus*). This argues strongly against Augustus as author. Fourthly, an obvious question is why Augustus, in a poem designed to console his wife, would console himself (lines 59–84). Such a proposition seems almost absurd. Instead of Augustus the author must be another. Mozley, the editor of the spurious poems of Ovid, claims that 'its poor style, metre, and taste constitute sufficient guarantee that the composition is another's (i.e. not Ovid's), and since the epicedion became a favourite genre in the Flavian age, many scholars incline to assign it to that date'.⁵⁴ Schoonhoven, who does not identify the poem's author, states that he 'was thoroughly versed in rhetoric, but cannot be blamed at the same time for being a dull and clumsy poetaster'.

Copray, in his work on both the *Elegies* and the *Consolatio*, considers that there is nothing in the two poems to suggest that the poems were not written in the Augustan age.⁵⁵ He produces convincing arguments, however, based on tone, metre, correspondence and dependence on other poets, that the authors of the *Consolatio* and the *Elegies* are not one and the same.

The *Consolatio* like the *Elegies* seems to have been the work of an amateur rather than an accomplished poet. Are there any clues as to the writer's identity? There is one, and a very significant one. In line 202 of the *Consolatio* the writer states 'all we *equites* were present at the funeral' (*funeris exsequiis adsumus omnis eques*). The writer is claiming to be of equestrian rank and to have been present at Drusus' funeral. This would rule out Augustus as author, since he was not an equestrian. This is a fact which seems to be ignored by those who claim that the poem was written during later emperors, even as late as the Flavian age. For example, Schoonhoven, in his note on line 202, merely states that some poets were equestrians and ignores the point that the writer claims to have been present at the funeral.⁵⁶ If one considers an equestrian who would have been present at Drusus' funeral, one name immediately springs to mind – that of Maecenas. It is known that he aspired to being a poet and that Augustus, among others, did not like his flowery style of writing. He does not seem, for all his attempts, to have been an accomplished poet. The deferential tone towards the whole imperial family in the poem might well reflect the approach which Maecenas would have taken. He had been a friend of Augustus for nearly forty years, and presumably of Livia too, after she married Augustus in January 38 BC. During the period when Octavian was away from Rome in the 30s and Maecenas was in charge in Rome, it is highly likely that Livia, who was bringing up her young sons Tiberius and Drusus, would have wanted Maecenas to keep her in touch with what was going on. She might also have sought his help in ensuring that she and her sons were safe at a time when there was unrest in the city. Maecenas will have been well acquainted with the other members of the imperial family. It would be highly appropriate for him to try to console Livia in this way, and, in the course of the poem, to pay homage to the imperial family, including Augustus, which he had helped to establish, and to try to console their sadness.

An examination of the *Consolatio* provides some interesting points which support this proposition. Richmond comments that 'The restrained language of this insipid poem, its dignified style and metric quality argue against it being post-Augustan'.⁵⁷ The poem certainly is dignified, but is it insipid? What should readers expect in a poem of consolation? Should language not be restrained? Surely the language used should be appropriate for the occasion. The poem is full of praise for the virtues of Livia (lines 41–50), describes the way in which she mourns her loss (101–18, 119–66, 417–26) and offers her ample consolation (341–474). Yet the poem does not only console Livia, but offers comfort to the others closely linked to Drusus – to his step-father Augustus (59–84), his brother Tiberius (Nero) (85–100) and his wife Antonia (299–340). In these consolations the poet shows great respect for each of the members of the family. The way in which he addresses them suggests closeness to the family, but not a relationship to them.

The poem is full of praise for the achievements of Drusus (13–20; 209–16; 231–50; 289–98; 309–16; 329–40; 365–66; 383–92; 454–62) and shows dutiful admiration for all that the young man had done in his short life. The poem is also full of admiration for the role of Tiberius in rushing to his injured brother and arriving in time to perform the last rites as he died. The poet also admires his brotherly devotion in preventing the soldiers from burning the body in the field and in bringing his body back first to Ticinum (Pavia) in Italy and thence to Rome for the funeral (167–72). He praises, too, the role of Tiberius in the funeral itself and expresses the hope that Tiberius will have a long life so that he can comfort Livia and perform her last rites when the time comes. The poet sees him as part of a promising future for Rome (471–2). Such a view is in keeping with the promise shown by Tiberius as a military commander for Augustus for several years and occurs before Tiberius has been fully soured by the actions of Augustus.

The poet gives a vivid account of the arrival of the corpse in Rome (173–98), Livia's lament over the corpse (119–66), the crowd accompanying the body and the reaction of the Romans to his death (199–208), the final salute of military personnel (217–20) and the funeral pyre (253–70). All this suggests that the author was present at the time of the funeral, not writing many years later about an event which he had not witnessed.

The poet tries to console Antonia for the loss of her husband (299–340). Her worthiness is emphasised in lines 299 and 300 as is the strength of their loving relationship (301–6). The poet claims that Drusus' last words bewailed that Antonia was not with him. In sharp contrast (309–16) is the deathly silence of the return of his body. Antonia's actions of mourning are likened to those of Andromache and Evadne (317–22). The poet ends by urging her not to pray for death, but to take comfort in what he achieved in so short a life and to consider how he will be received in the afterlife (323–40). The way in which the poet presents these scenes is full of sadness and tenderness.

The poet rejoices that Tiberius and Augustus have been able to persuade Livia to abandon her wish to starve herself to death (417–26). He ends the *Consolatio* by urging Livia to be brave and to maintain her dignity (341–410) and uses as a device the imagined emergence of Drusus from the dead to tell his mother to take comfort from all that he has achieved in life and to mourn him no more (445–70). The poet points out that Drusus is dead and no-one can come back from the dead, citing from mythology the examples of Hector and Achilles. Of course tears are necessary, as when Octavia wept for Marcellus and then Augustus wept for them both, but there comes a time when tears have to end (427–44), as it is not fitting for the household of Augustus, guardian of mankind, to be filled with tears until he dies (473–4).

The poem seems to be very carefully crafted to fulfil the aims of praising and consoling the members of the imperial family. While offering

consolation to Livia, the poet praises her noble qualities. He is full of praise for the achievements and characters of Drusus and Tiberius. If Maecenas is the poet, this is hardly surprising, as he would have known them both since they were babies and watched them grow to manhood from close quarters. While the poem is full of praise of Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus and Antonia, it resonates with sadness and sympathy for this tragic loss. As a poem of consolation it seems to be effective.

The poet seems to have given great consideration to the opening fifty-eight lines of the poem in terms of sequence of ideas, choice of vocabulary and use of word order. For a long time (*diu* line 1) Livia had seemed blessed and fortunate (*felix* line 1), but the use of *visa* (line 1) suggests that such good fortune was illusory. The use of *modo* (line 1; repeated in line 15) suggests how recently the change of fortune has occurred, because now (*iam* repeated first word in lines 2 and 3) Drusus is dead and Livia is reading a sad poem in his honour (line 3). Her role as mother is emphasised by the use of *mater* in both line 1 and line 4. There is a clear contrast between *unum* (one) (first word in line 4) and *duorum* (two) (last word in line 5). The poet makes clear to the reader the sudden and unexpected change that has taken place in Livia's life. He interrupts his thoughts with a concern that he may not be able to offer any consolation at all (lines 9–12). The dramatic placement of *occidit* in line 13 brings the reader back to the reality of death as the poet highlights and praises Drusus' recent military successes (lines 13–20). In lines 21 to 40 the poet cleverly makes the contrast between the way in which Livia, Drusus' mother (*mater* line 22, *materna* line 25), had visualised greeting a triumphant Drusus on his return with kisses (*oscula* line 35) and how the crowd would have called her 'blessed' (*felix* line 33, as in line 1) with the reality of having to prepare for his funeral. Note the emphatic position of both *funera* (line 27) and *tumulus* (line 28). Note, too, the clever contrast in line 37 between the first half of joy and the second of false hope (*gaudia magna foves: spem pone, miserrima, falsam;*). Livia is brought back to the reality of the situation again by the clever, emphatic positioning of *occidit* (line 40), but the poet shows sympathy by use of the adjective *indignas* (undeserving) in the same line. The poet then changes tack again in lines 41–50 as he enumerates the virtues of Livia. She has always pleased her powerful husband (*tanto tam placuisse viro* line 42). Her admirable qualities are her sense of modesty (*pudice* line 41 and *pudicitia* line 43), her moral code (*mores* line 41) and an upright mind (*animum ... rectum* line 45), which are highlighted. Although she had power because of her position, she never used that power to harm anyone either in public or in her own household (lines 47–50). This assessment of Livia by the poet might have influenced the poet of the *Elegiae* in his assessment of the role of Maecenas in *Elegy* 1.15–16. The poet ends this introductory section with a discussion of the fickleness and cruelty of fate (*Fortuna*) in lines 51–8, a theme that runs through the poem as it mourns the promising life of Drusus so unkindly brought to a premature end. The careful and thoughtful

composition of these lines seems to belie the idea that it is a poem of poor quality.

The poem contains one important clue which might support the proposition that Maecenas is the poet. In line 5 the poet mentions the *pietas* of Livia. There are seven other uses of the word or the adjective *pius* (24, 84, 133, 158, 191, 296, 329).⁵⁸ *Pietas* was one of four key virtues inscribed on the famous *Clupeus Virtutis* which was given to Augustus around 27 BC and displayed in the *Curia*. This quality of a sense of duty to gods, country and family was certainly a key feature of Augustan policy. It is no coincidence that Virgil chose to ascribe this quality to his hero Aeneas, who was claimed as an ancestor by the Julian family. It is significant that the poet stresses that Livia, the wife of the man to whom this virtue had been ascribed, possessed the very same virtue. Very significantly the poet of the *Consolatio* in line 133 repeats exactly the first half of line 253 of *Aeneid* Book 1 – *hic pietatis honos*. In the *Consolatio* it comes as Livia wonders what harm she has ever done to the gods to deserve such misfortune, gods whom she is shown to be preparing to honour for Drusus' safe return in lines 21–4. She asks how her devotion to the gods can be so cruelly repaid. In *Aeneid* 1.253 the exasperated cry comes from Venus at the end of her speech to Jupiter. She asks him how it can be that such a '*pius*' hero as Aeneas can be made to suffer in the way in which he does. The use of this half line in such circumstances suggests that the poet of the *Consolatio* is drawing on the *Aeneid*. This would be a natural thing for Maecenas, Virgil's patron, to do. Maecenas would know only too well the significance of *pietas* in the *Aeneid* and its importance to Augustus. It also supports the proposition that Maecenas, as the poet of the *Consolatio*, heavily drew upon the work of Virgil in his composition. This proposition is supported by the fact that 98.7% of the words in the *Consolatio* are used by Virgil. In the first eight hexameter lines of the poem there are at least twenty-two uses of Virgilian words *in the same position in the line* as used by Virgil.⁵⁹ A further example is the use of the perfect infinitive in the fourth and fifth feet of a hexameter. There are two examples in the first fifty-eight lines together with four in the second half of a pentameter; Virgil uses the perfect infinitive, including abbreviated forms, in this position fifteen times in the first four books of the *Aeneid*.⁶⁰ There are also two examples of an accusative retained after a past participle in *laniata comas* (317) and *tempora vinctus* (334), a device used often by Virgil and almost exclusively by him.⁶¹ It should also be remembered that Suetonius wrote that Agrippa blamed Maecenas' influence for what he disliked about Virgil's style.⁶² This might mean that Virgil was borrowing ideas from Maecenas rather than the other way round. Whatever the truth is, these similarities far outweigh the small number of similarities which Schoonhoven claims for the poetry of Ovid, especially since Tarrant has identified the way in which Ovid borrowed the work of Virgil. It suggests that the author of the *Consolatio* was

heavily imbued with the poetry of Virgil and made use of it as a source. The highly alliterative line 109 has links to Propertius, who uses *plumoso* (4.2.34) and *plangas pectora* (2.24.52). This suggests that the author is familiar with the work of Propertius.⁶³

There is one troubling aspect of the poem, if the proposition that Maece-nas wrote it in 9 BC is to be accepted. This is the passage lines 283–8. (*adice Ledaeos, concordia sidera, fratres/templaque Romano conspicienda foro./quam parvo numeros implevit principis aevo,/in patriam meritis occubuit-que senex!/nec sua conspiciet (miserum me) munera Drusus/nec sua prae templi nomina fronte leget.* – ‘Add the brothers, sons of Leda, concordant stars, and the temple conspicuous in the Forum. In how short a time he fulfilled the office of leader, and because of the services rendered to his country seemed to die an old man! Sad to relate Drusus will not see the work he was responsible for nor will he read his name on the front of the temple.’)

It is this passage which has caused scholars to place the composition of the poem in the early first century AD or later. In this passage the writer refers to the Dioscuri and the temple dedicated to them in the Forum, a dedication which took place in AD 6. They argue, therefore, that the poem must have been composed after this date. This raises again the earlier question. Why would anyone bother to write a poem to try to console Livia over fifteen years after Drusus’ death? Surely such a poem would be more likely to revive unpleasant memories, ones which, by this time, Livia may have succeeded in overcoming? The problem posed by this passage and the way that scholars have frequently responded to it requires careful consideration. The temple of the Dioscuri was very significant in early Rome. It was dedicated in 484 (or 482 BC according to Lanciani) by Aulus Postumius to commemorate the supposed intervention of two men on white horses on the Roman side in their victory over the Latins at Lake Regillus in 499 BC (or 496 or 494 BC).⁶⁴ The temple was built close to the pool of Juturna where the Dioscuri had appeared also to announce the victory of Lake Regillus.⁶⁵ The temple was probably burnt down in 12 BC when the neighbouring Basilica Julia was burnt down, although it could have been in 14 BC.⁶⁶ Augustus, in his massive rebuilding programme of temples, initiated the rebuilding of this temple and intended to dedicate it to his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, but both died before its consecration in AD 6.⁶⁷ Tiberius completed the rebuilding and beautification of the temple with the spoils from his victories in Germany and Pannonia. He dedicated it in AD 6 and placed as an inscription on it not only his own name, but also that of his late brother Drusus.⁶⁸ Is it possible that Augustus entrusted the rebuilding to Drusus? This might be the sense of lines 285–6. Agrippa had died in Campania in 12 BC on his way home from campaigning in Pannonia.⁶⁹ Augustus replaced him with Tiberius, who was in Pannonia from 12–9 BC.⁷⁰ For the same period Augustus entrusted the conquest

of Germany to Drusus.⁷¹ We know that Drusus came back to Rome at the end of the campaigning season in 12 BC and spent the early part of 11 BC in Rome where he was appointed *praetor urbanus*.⁷² We know from Cicero that the praetors were responsible for approving the contracts for maintenance of temples.⁷³ It is quite possible, therefore, that Drusus, as *praetor urbanus* in 11 BC, approved the contracts for the reconstruction of the Temple of Castor and Pollux. It is highly likely that Maecenas would be aware of the fact that Drusus was in charge of this task. At the time that he wrote the poem he would naturally assume that the work of Drusus would be acknowledged with an inscription on the temple in much the same way that Agrippa is commemorated by the inscription on the facade of the Pantheon. Such a conclusion would account for lines 237–8 (*nec sua conspiciet (miserum me) munera Drusus/nec sua prae templi nomina fronte leget*). It would also overcome the problem posed by the dedication in AD 6 on the date of the composition of the poem and mean that it is possible that the poem was written close to Drusus' death. Even Schoonhoven, who is in favour of a date around AD 54, concedes that 'a poet writing in, say, 7 BC could fairly surely anticipate the actual dedication'. Later, he suggests that the dedication of the temple is one of three 'vaticinia' or 'wishful auguria'.⁷⁴

There is one other very significant factor, seemingly ignored, which supports an earlier, contemporary date. In lines 59–84 the poet offers consolation to Augustus. The consolation is for the deaths of Marcellus in 23 BC, Agrippa in 12 BC, and his sister Octavia in 11 BC. If the poet wrote in the Claudian or Flavian age, surely he would include the significant deaths of Augustus' adopted sons Lucius in AD 2 and Gaius in AD 4? The fact that they are not included strongly suggests that the *Consolatio* was composed before their deaths. It argues for composition at the time of Drusus' death. Which other *eques* in Rome, with some pretensions to writing poetry, had better reason to write such a poem at the time of Drusus' death than Maecenas, who had known Livia for thirty years? In this case, we learn something else: that relations between Maecenas and Livia were cordial, if not close. If Livia read this poem, she must have been consoled for her loss, as it is clear that the poet realises how devastating the loss of her son has been and how she is suffering for it. This sympathetic poem, which highlights the achievements and the promise of Drusus' tragically short life, does its best to point Livia to a positive way forward from her loss. Livia would have appreciated the empathy shown by her friend Maecenas and his wise advice.

In summary, a careful reading and re-reading of the *Consolatio* suggests that the author of the poem enjoyed a close relationship to Augustus, Livia, Tiberius, Antonia and the late Drusus. This discounts both the theory that Ovid was the author and the proposal that it was written as a rhetorical exercise in the Flavian period. If the suggestion put forward for resolution of the problem created by the dedication of the temple of the Dioscuri is

acceptable, there seems to be no reason why the poem was not written at the time of the death of Drusus, a time when it would be an effective consolation to Livia and the other members of the imperial family. Sound reasons have been provided for arguing that the author is none other than Maecenas. There has been criticism of the quality of the poem, but this seems to ignore the fact that the poem is one of consolation. The author expresses great sympathy for the members of the imperial family, as he consoles each one in turn for what the loss means to them. Evidence has been produced to show that great trouble was taken to fulfil the twin aims of praise and consolation, just as it was in terms of sequence of ideas, word order and choice of vocabulary. The poem meets the demands of being an effective consolation.

The anonymity of the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*

The two anonymous elegies, the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, written in his honour, are one of the primary sources for what Maecenas achieved in his life.⁷⁵ Enk believes that it is unlikely that these elegies were written before AD 13, while others like Skutsch, whom he cites, believe that they were written at the time of Maecenas' death in 8 BC.⁷⁶ Schoonhoven favours a later date in the 'third quarter of the first century AD'.⁷⁷ He argues that it was written after the *Consolatio* and, because he dates the *Consolatio* in AD 54, that the *Elegiae* must, therefore, be dated after 54. His view is that the *Elegiae* are a *defensio* to the charges against Maecenas' lifestyle made by the Younger Seneca. This, too, seems an unlikely scenario so long after the death of Maecenas. The presence of a small number of parallels with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto* persuaded Enk and others that they were not written at the time of Maecenas' death. It is possible, however, that Ovid might have been influenced by what he had read in the *Elegies* rather than vice versa.⁷⁸ Although Enk's date deserves more consideration than that of Schoonhoven, it seems unlikely that anyone would choose to write such elegies so long after the death of Maecenas.

No one has been able to identify the author. The Duffs, in their introduction to the *Elegies*, state that the two elegies were found as one elegy in editions of Virgil's minor works, but point out that Virgil could not be the composer, as he died eleven years before Maecenas.⁷⁹ Schoonhoven states that the *Elegies* were included in Virgil's work in a ninth century catalogue from the monastery at Murbach.⁸⁰ Albinovanus Pedo, Ovid and Horace are suggested as possible authors. The context suggests that the author, although he enjoyed a close relationship with Maecenas, was not in his circle of friends (*nec mihi, Maecenas, tecum fuit usus amici* – *El. in Maec.* 1.9). The term *usus amici* might be translated as 'being dependent on' or 'in need of the patronage of', since one meaning of *amicus* is 'a member of a retinue or a client'.⁸¹ It could also mean that the author did not need to be a follower

or disciple of Maecenas.⁸² The poets in Maecenas' circle relied upon his patronage and were, therefore, in the position of clients, even if there were differences in the patron/client relationship here from other such relationships. Horace would, therefore, be excluded because he was in his circle of friends and was dependent on his patronage. It is very unlikely that Horace, who was not well and died only fifty-nine days after Maecenas, would have been able to write poetry at the time.⁸³ Ovid was not in Maecenas' circle of friends and it seems unlikely that he enjoyed a close relationship with Maecenas. It also seems unlikely that he would choose to write a eulogy of Maecenas, since he remained independently aloof from the Augustan regime.⁸⁴ Scaliger (1573) seems to have been the first to ascribe the authorship of the *Elegies* to Albinovanus Pedo.⁸⁵ Meibomius (1653) was almost certainly following Scaliger when he wrote a biography of Maecenas.⁸⁶ Richer (1748) identifies the author as Pedonius.⁸⁷ Richer perhaps confused Pedo with Pedonius. He was almost certainly following Meibomius whose work he acknowledges in his preface. Very little is known about Albinovanus Pedo, although he is addressed as a poet friend by Ovid (*Pont.* 4.10). He was not within Maecenas' circle. Scaliger was followed by Gorallus, Wernsdorf and Lemaire, although others, such as Ribbeck and Ellis, continued to include the *Elegies* as minor works of Virgil or, as Burman, stated that they were by an unknown author.⁸⁸ Duff considers that ascribing the elegies to Albinovanus Pedo is incorrect.⁸⁹ Courtney does not ascribe them to him in his entry for Albinovanus Pedo in *OCD*.⁹⁰ Richmond considers the *Elegies* to be by an unknown author of an unknown date.⁹¹

Lines 51–6 of the first elegy suggest the possibility of familiarity with Propertius 4.6 in which Propertius ascribes Augustus' victory at Actium to the intervention of Apollo. It is thought that Propertius wrote his fourth book of elegies under the patronage of Augustus about 16 BC. This would merely signify that the *Elegies* were written after Propertius published his fourth book probably no later than 16 BC. We do not know when Propertius died, though he does not seem to have written poetry after 15 BC. He, too, as a member of the circle of Maecenas' poets, would be excluded as the author of the *Elegies* and may well have died before Maecenas. Yet, we should remember that even without the authority of Propertius it was well known in Rome that Augustus gave credit to Apollo for his victory and built a temple in his honour near his house on the Palatine.⁹²

Peter Levi is especially dismissive of the two anonymous elegies on Maecenas.⁹³ He writes:

The pseudo-Virgilian Elegies on Maecenas supposed to be written when he died are by young boobies and deplorably bad: they tell us little reliable, though the second records scenes at his death-bed. Whoever wrote this rubbish did not know the phrase Remember Horace as you would me, which comes from Maecenas' will or last letters. This impostor wrings much pathos out of it by applying it to the love of Maecenas for

Augustus: these bad poems are like gardens overgrown for a hundred years, they are best ignored, they are not worth the trouble they take to explore.

It is impossible to agree that they are 'best ignored', because 'they tell us little reliable', or that they are 'rubbish'. It is difficult to agree with Levi's comments about the phrase 'Remember Horace as you would me', which Suetonius states are '*extremis iudiciis*' (final judgments). This may well refer to Maecenas' will, but could possibly mean 'in his final assessment'.⁹⁴ The fact that the author of the second *Elegy* (lines 17–20) has Maecenas on his deathbed wishing Augustus to remember him does not mean that the author was unaware of Maecenas' request to Augustus to remember Horace. In fact, it might mean exactly the opposite. Although the authorship of the *Elegies* cannot be ascertained for certain, this does not detract from the fact that they contain useful information which helps to construct a picture of Maecenas, as this book argues. They may not be great poetry, but that is not the point. In fact it may well be a very good argument in favour of dismissing poets like Horace, Ovid and Albinovanus Pedo as possible authors, since the evidence is that they were accomplished writers of poetry. If, as Levi claims, 'they are deplorably bad', this seems to suggest that the author was someone who was an amateur poet.

Copray stated that an examination of metre was no obstacle to an Augustan date.⁹⁵ Schoonhoven considers that the 'metre and prosody' of the *Elegies* are typical of the Augustan period.⁹⁶ Richmond also attests to the Augustan style of the *Elegies*.⁹⁷ The author of the *Elegies* was not in Maecenas circle of friends, but enjoyed a close relationship with him. Schoonhoven considers that 'the poet of the *Elegiae* displays an intimate knowledge of Maecenas' private and public life'.⁹⁸ This book suggests that they were written by Augustus himself. Le Doze came very close to this conclusion, while considering which friend of Maecenas might have written the *Elegies*. He wrote: 'On pense à Auguste bien sûr. Bien qu'il n'y ait là rien que d'hypothétique'. ('One certainly thinks of Augustus. Although it can only be hypothetical'.)⁹⁹

Augustus would qualify, as he was not in the circle of poet friends of Maecenas, but was in a close relationship with him, and was well aware of the contents of Propertius 4.6, if such knowledge is a relevant issue. It would have been highly appropriate for Augustus to write an elegy for the friend to whom he owed so much, especially since he delivered a eulogy on the death of his other close associate Agrippa.¹⁰⁰ It would be expected that Augustus, as head of the family to which Agrippa now belonged, would deliver the eulogy for him. He would not, however, be expected to deliver the eulogy for Maecenas, as Maecenas was not part of his family. We also know that Augustus did write some poetry in elegiac couplets, even if what remains of his efforts is only the vulgar poem to Fulvia quoted by Courtney.¹⁰¹ Suetonius also wrote that:

his essays in poetry were but slight. One book has come down to us written in hexameter verse, of which the subject and title is 'Sicily'. There is another, equally brief, of 'Epigrams', which he composed for the most part at the time of his bath.¹⁰²

It would have been very appropriate for Augustus to write an elegy in verse for Maecenas, who had served him so loyally and effectively and had established and supported a remarkable group of poets.

There are some pointers which suggest that this proposition is not without substance. The death of the young man at the start of *Elegy* 1 (lines 1–8) is assumed to be that of Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius and stepson of Augustus, who died in 9 BC, the year before Maecenas. Drusus died following a fall from his horse in Germany. His body was brought back to Rome, where Augustus gave a funeral speech in his honour.¹⁰³ The word *carmine* in line one might refer to Augustus' funeral speech for Drusus rather than a written poem, as has been suggested.¹⁰⁴ The writer of the first *Elegy* says that Marcus Lollius, consul in 21 BC, suggested the task (line 10). Lollius was a friend of Augustus.¹⁰⁵ Lollius went as '*comes et rector*' to the young Gaius Caesar when he went to the east in 1 BC, entrusted with this task by Augustus.¹⁰⁶ The writer's choice of gods and heroes (Apollo, Jupiter, Venus and Hercules) is of those closely linked to Augustus. The first *Elegy* (lines 50–6) emphasises the role of Apollo in the victory at Actium. We know that Augustus believed that Apollo was responsible for his victory and dedicated a temple to him on the Palatine.¹⁰⁷ Jupiter (87) was the chief Roman god and would be a natural choice for any Roman leader. The Julian family claimed descent from Venus (130) through Aeneas, as Virgil explains in the *Aeneid*. Their coinage, too, endorsed this claimed link.¹⁰⁸ Hercules (69ff) was originally connected to Antony, but, as Levick points out, Augustus took him over after the death of Antony, and held a festival in his honour the day before his triple triumph in August 29 - BC.¹⁰⁹ This choice strongly supports the idea that Augustus was the author. It has to be admitted that Schoonhoven is probably correct when he identifies the use of Bacchus and Hercules by the author as a way of playfully commenting on Maecenas' dress and lifestyle. There is one more small, but no less significant, clue in the use of the word *beryllus* in *El.* 1, 19.¹¹⁰ This is the same word that is ascribed to Augustus by Macrobius (*berulle Porsenae* – 'you beryl of Porsena' – as he addresses Maecenas) in what are said to be postscripts to Augustus' letters to Maecenas.¹¹¹ The word is also used by Maecenas himself in fragment two of the surviving examples of his writing.¹¹² It is also used by Propertius.¹¹³ So, four of the seven examples of the use of the word given in the *OLD* are linked to Augustus, Maecenas and one of his poets.¹¹⁴ One could argue, therefore, that it was an in-word at the time. Much in the two elegies is laudatory of Augustus. For this reason, he may have wished to remain anonymous rather than to be seen to be blowing his own trumpet, since the focus of the elegy was on Maecenas.

To have identified himself as the author would have laid him open to criticism of insincerity and egotism. Augustus had, no doubt, already blown his own trumpet in the autobiography which he dedicated to Agrippa and Maecenas, as he did later in the *Res Gestae*.¹¹⁵ Although Augustus' education would have included training in all aspects of poetic composition, writing poetry was not the focus of his life, unlike the poets in Maecenas' circle. Levi clearly had a very low opinion of the *Elegies*, because he was comparing them to the polished verses of the poets of the Augustan age. A fairer assessment would be to consider that they are a heartfelt tribute by Augustus to his lifelong friend and supporter Maecenas. As such, they seem to fit the bill.

The *Elegies* together with the poetry of Horace provide us with most of what we can state about Maecenas and his lifestyle. Schoonhoven considers *Elegy* 1 to be a *laudatio*, the private version of the public *laudatio funebris* usually held in the Forum, and not a *consolatio*.¹¹⁶ It is true that the *Elegies* are effusive in praise of Maecenas, perhaps on the grounds of *nil nisi bonum de mortuis*. Yet obituaries usually provide important details about the achievements of the deceased. Even if elegies are by nature too generous, what these elegies say must be akin to the view of Maecenas held by at least some of his contemporaries. The *Elegies* focus much more on his public roles and his generosity than the faults of his lifestyle. There is an interesting comparison drawn between Maecenas and the major Roman hero Hercules in lines 69–85 of the first *Elegy*. The lines assert that, just as Hercules was entitled to a life of leisure after completing his famous labours, so too Maecenas was entitled to enjoy his leisurely life after all the hard work which he had done on behalf of Augustus. Schoonhoven argues that the nature of the likeness of Hercules serving Omphale is suggestive of Maecenas' effeminate nature.¹¹⁷ Perhaps, however, the author is drawing a parallel to Maecenas' difficult relationship with Terentia and is subtly suggesting that Maecenas was very much under her thumb. From the first *Elegy* we can learn that the writer thinks that Maecenas should have been allowed to live even longer (*tam candidus et tam longius annoso vivere dignus avo* 1.3–4). He wishes that Medea existed to rejuvenate him (1.107–12) and believes that it is unfair for others to live longer or to be immortal (1.113–28). All this emphasises the fact that Maecenas, by what he did in life, was worthy of enjoying a long life. The writer confesses that he has forgotten that Maecenas died when old, because he always seemed young (1.136). Schoonhoven points out that there is no mention of Maecenas' role as a literary patron in the first *Elegy*.¹¹⁸ This, he states, might be due to the fact that this was so well known that it did not seem necessary to state it, but he thinks it is more likely that it was not relevant to the poet's defence of Maecenas' '*cultus, stilus* or *animus*' (behaviour, writing or character).

The writer acknowledges Maecenas' loyalty to the emperor, his role as right hand man and protector of Rome. The writer's use of *almi Caesaris*

(‘kindly Caesar’ line 13) would be a reason for Augustus to remain anonymous, as are other such complimentary references to Augustus in the *Elegies*. The anonymous writer strongly defends Maecenas from accusations that he used his power to harm people or did anyone any harm by not dressing as a Roman (1.21–30). The elegist suggests that Maecenas’ preference for life in the countryside with a passion for poetry is to be admired and is well deserved after his reliable public service and his service in war (1.31–5). The elegist places Maecenas at Philippi (1.43), the campaign against Sextus Pompey round Sicily (1.41–2) and at Actium (1.45–51).¹¹⁹ Ancient authors are divided on the presence of Maecenas in the campaign against Sextus Pompey and at Actium.¹²⁰ Augustus would know, of course. If he is indeed the author of the *Elegies*, as suggested, then his testimony of Maecenas’ military exploits should be considered to be correct. The elegist is supported in the view that Maecenas was at Actium by the contemporary poets Horace and Propertius.¹²¹ The *Elegy* again emphasises the friendship between Maecenas and Augustus and the fact that he deserved his retirement and that Augustus was content to grant it, as he had achieved all that he wanted (103–6). The first *Elegy* ends with wishes that Maecenas could have gone on living forever and a vow to honour his grave with offerings. It should be remembered that even the usually hostile Seneca the Younger recalls how Augustus often, when in trouble in later years, used to say that nothing like this would have happened if Agrippa or Maecenas had still been alive.¹²²

The second, shorter *Elegy* concentrates on the deathbed and the last wishes of Maecenas. It is linked to the beginning of the first *Elegy* by Maecenas’ reported wish that he had died before Drusus. In other words he wishes that Drusus were still alive. There is doubt over the meaning of *discidio* in line 7. The Duffs translate it as ‘our civil strife’ with a note that this refers to the civil war between Octavian and Antony.¹²³ Schoonhoven disagrees with the Duffs and translates it as ‘our estrangement’.¹²⁴ This seems to fit in with the lines which follow, as they suggest that Maecenas preferred not to remember the estrangement. Perhaps ‘our disagreement’ is a better translation. Schoonhoven links his translation of *discidio* to a discussion of the alleged relationship between Augustus and Terentia. It is Dio who puts forward this idea when he suggests that Augustus went off to Gaul with Terentia in 16 BC so that he could pursue their relationship ‘without gossip, since there was much talk about them in Rome’.¹²⁵ One would hardly think that there would be less gossip, if this happened. On the contrary, one would expect the gossip to increase. It seems highly unlikely that he would take Terentia to Gaul at a time when he was trying to restore moral values and family values in Rome which was at peace at last.¹²⁶ It also seems very unlikely that Livia would endure such behaviour from her husband of over twenty years, as she was a very strong woman. Their relationship seems to have been very close and Livia seems to have been someone with whom he could discuss his cares and concerns. Some

suggest that Livia went to Gaul with Augustus at that time.¹²⁷ It is possible, of course, that Augustus was attracted to Terentia, and that caused some disagreement. The disagreement could have been, however, over some other matter. Much of Schoonhoven's case relies upon his translation of *quaerebat* in line 9, which he renders as 'sought in vain', whereas the Duffs simply translate it as 'sought', which seems to be a better rendition of '*quaerebat*'. The use of the imperfect suggests a repeated action, in other words Maecenas keeps trying to embrace his wife. There is no evidence that the imperfect can imply the idea 'in vain'. Schoonhoven, therefore, suggests that Terentia is absent as he dies, whereas the Duffs suggest that his last action is to try to embrace and kiss his wife.¹²⁸ This book considers the Duffs' version to be more likely, as does Le Doze.¹²⁹

The remaining lines (2.11–34) are addressed to Augustus. It could be that Augustus is writing in his elegy what someone reported to him about the deathbed scene. Maecenas is made to say that it has been enough for him to have been the emperor's friend, and to credit the emperor with the fortunate life he has led. He states that he will never forget the emperor, even after death, and hopes that the emperor will remember him too. The *Elegy* ends with a prayer for long life for Augustus, for Livia to recover from the loss of Drusus, for Tiberius to fill the shoes of Agrippa and for the line of succession to be secured, before the emperor dies and becomes a god. These lines are very favourable in their view of Augustus. Both *Elegies* reflect a close and affectionate relationship between the emperor and Maecenas.

If the contemporary *Elegies* and poetry of Horace present, for the most part, a very positive portrait of Maecenas, it is the later writer Seneca the Younger who is the most critical. There are those who argue that the first *Elegy* is in part a *defensio* to the criticism of Maecenas by Seneca the Younger and must therefore belong to the Julio-Claudian or even as late as the Flavian period. Schoonhoven favours a date of AD 54, in the time of Claudius, as it was written after the *Consolatio* which he argues was written to support the claims of Britannicus against Nero.¹³⁰ There seems to be no strong argument that this is the case. The poet's comments in lines 21–38 of the first *Elegy*, especially about his dress and lifestyle, could just as easily be a reaction to contemporary criticism. This criticism might have come from Maecenas' contemporary Seneca the Elder, who passed on his views to his son, as Seneca the Younger was born after the death of Maecenas. On the face of it, the younger Seneca's role under the emperorship of Nero is very similar to that of Maecenas under Augustus. Yet Agrippina had Seneca recalled from exile and made him tutor to the young Nero. He remained Nero's adviser after he became emperor. In these positions he seems to have been a force for good. There were, however, especially later, many actions of Nero of which he may not have approved. He could not escape from

his role because Agrippina could easily have had him returned to exile. Maecenas, on the other hand, was an entirely voluntary contributor to the achievements of Octavian/Augustus. Seneca was a Stoic philosopher, whereas Maecenas was probably an Epicurean.¹³¹ Seneca clearly envied the fact that Maecenas was allowed to retire and enjoy his later years in peace, whereas his own request to Nero to be allowed to do the same was denied by the emperor.¹³² In his philosophical writings he frequently uses Maecenas as a target for criticism which is directed at his character, lifestyle, dress and speech. He does not, however, criticise his role as adviser, negotiator and administrator under Augustus. Byrne has suggested that this criticism of Maecenas is in fact an attack of one of Seneca the Younger's contemporaries, whom he chooses not to name.¹³³ Seneca's attack, if it is indeed aimed at Maecenas rather than Petronius, should be contrasted with the more positive view of the *Elegies*, especially if they were written by Augustus. It does seem that a plausible case can be made for Augustus as the author of the anonymous elegies. The conclusion is that Maecenas was present at the battle of Actium; that his dress and behaviour never did anyone any harm nor caused Rome to be any less safe; that, although he had power, he was not ambitious; and that he preferred to live a simple life.

A solution to the question of anonymity

The solution offered to the question of the anonymity of these two works is that Maecenas wrote the *Consolatio* in 9 BC knowing how much Drusus' death had affected Livia and the Imperial family. He did this because he was closely connected to the whole imperial family and felt their loss. If he is the author, it would give one more reason why Augustus, a year later, should reciprocate by writing a much briefer epicedium for his loyal supporter and friend Maecenas. A strong argument has been made for the fact that Augustus was indeed the author of the *Elegiae in Maecenatem*. The argument certainly has as much to recommend it as other solutions which have been proposed in the past. Axelson may have written that '*auctor semper manebit ignotus*' and Schoonhoven may consider that 'it is fruitless to give way to the passion for a name', but the argument here is that they are both wrong.¹³⁴ The theory proposed here for the composition of the *Consolatio* certainly seems preferable to Schoonhoven's complex idea that the poem was written in AD 54 by someone pretending to be Ovid writing in 9 BC, as a subtle pamphlet in favour of Britannicus and against Nero.¹³⁵ Richmond, when reviewing Schoonhoven's book, points out the obvious anomaly that: 'Nero, admittedly at one remove further, could also claim descent from Drusus, and, in addition, through Agrippina the Younger, natural descent from Augustus'. He also considers Ovid to be 'an inept selection for the author of a poem intended to influence the succession to the principate'.¹³⁶

If the hypotheses proposed here are valid, they make a marked difference to the way in which we assess the life of Maecenas. If Maecenas is the author of the *Consolatio*, there are four hundred and seventy-four lines of poetry by which to assess his style. It has been argued that the poem is not as poor as some commentators suggest. If Augustus is the author of the *Elegiae*, it must be assumed that the details which he provides about Maecenas and his lifestyle, such as his military service, are correct.

An overview of scholarship on Maecenas

Modern scholarship began with the German Meibomius (1590–1655) in the seventeenth century with a life of Maecenas in Latin.¹³⁷ He is quoted by Richer in the preface to his *Life of Maecenas* (1748) in French, which was translated into English by Schomberg (1766).¹³⁸ Richer is followed in the nineteenth century by Fransden (1843) and Feugères (1874). Fransden examined Maecenas' life and works; Feugères concentrated on Maecenas' contribution to helping Augustus to come to power. There is then a long gap until the Italian biography of Avallone in 1962, closely followed by the work of André in French in 1967.¹³⁹ Avallone's work was a true biography based on as much primary evidence as he could identify; André's focus was on whether Maecenas was an Epicurean. In 1996 Byrne wrote her doctoral thesis on Maecenas in English, but it has not been published as a book.¹⁴⁰ In 1999 Partuzo wrote a short book on Maecenas' role as Augustus' 'minister'.¹⁴¹ These two works are followed by two French biographies published within two years of each other. The first is that of Le Doze (2014), the second that of Chillet (2016), both of which were developed out of doctoral theses.¹⁴² Le Doze's biography concentrated on Maecenas' role as a literary patron. Chillet's biography is at times swamped by the general consideration of the ethnic and political world of the second half of the first century BC.

It is interesting that there have been many more scholarly works on Maecenas than on Agrippa, whose only biographies are those of Reinhold and Roddaz.¹⁴³ There have, of course, been many works on Augustus, in which Agrippa is given much more prominence than Maecenas. Often Maecenas is given scant treatment, in spite of the importance of his role, as the next chapter will show.¹⁴⁴ Chillet bemoans the paucity of work on Maecenas.¹⁴⁵ Each work on Maecenas brings further information to light and increases the total knowledge about him, especially in the area on which the author concentrates. Almost all the works on Maecenas deal with his relationships with the poets of his circle in individual chapters, rather than within the assessment of his life. This book is no different, as it deals with his relationships with Virgil, Horace and Propertius in separate chapters. To have dealt with these relationships within the narrative of his life would have distracted from a clear picture of what he achieved as

a supporter of Octavian/Augustus. The first chapter concentrates on providing a biography of Maecenas which can be supported by the ancient texts which have been identified. The views expressed by scholars in modern analyses of the period are evaluated in light of the conclusions which can be reached from the ancient texts.

Notes

- 1 André (1967).
- 2 Figures I.1 and I.2. Museo Archeologico Nazionale Gaio Cilnio Mecenate, Arezzo. I thank one of my examiners for alerting me to this portrait and to the article by Andreae (2005). Author's own photographs published *su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali – Polo Museale della Toscana – Firenze*.
- 3 The current inventory number is MC 1097/S, as the head is in store at Giardino Caffarelli. There is an identical bust in the Altis Museum, Berlin.
- 4 Smythe (1995).
- 5 Ara Pacis Augustae, South frieze (Figures I.3 and I.4). *Roma, Museo dell' Ara Pacis*. Photographs published by Italian Ways Travel, kindly provided by Chiara Collaro and published with kind permission of Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali. © *Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali*.
- 6 Andreae (2005, 121–61). Although I find Andreae's arguments about the identification of the busts persuasive and I acknowledge his expertise in the field of Roman art, I am less impressed by his attempts to provide biographical information about Maecenas. For example, I do not think that he produces a convincing argument about the year of Maecenas' birth (133ff.). This book argues for a different interpretation of many of the primary sources from that given by Andreae, such as his interpretation of the relationship between Terentia and Augustus (p. 153).
- 7 For example, the Augustus of Prima Porta (Vatican Museums) and the portrait of Augustus as Pontifex Maximus (Palazzo Massimo) and Agrippa on the *Ara Pacis* and in the Uffizi, Florence. Many of the hairstyles on the *Ara Pacis* are very similar.
- 8 Fejfer (2008, 270–1). Zanker (1982) had identified the 'Zeitgesicht' or 'period face'.
- 9 Figure I.5. Museo Archeologico Nazionale Gaio Cilnio Mecenate, Arezzo. Author's own photograph published *su concessione del Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali – Polo Museale della Toscana – Firenze*.
- 10 For example, British Museum GR1856.12.26.1722; Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1444; Louvre Ma 1233.
- 11 Fejfer (2008, 351).
- 12 Bartman (1999, 221, 3).
- 13 Fejfer (2008, 353–5).
- 14 Fejfer (2008, 16–51).
- 15 Fejfer (2008, 18).
- 16 Chillet (2016, 171–233).
- 17 Bernoulli (1882–1894, 2, 42 fig.36). Bernoulli also identified two cameos which might be portraits of Maecenas, one in the Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, the other in Naples. Furtwängler, however, argued that both are probably from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a view with which Richter (1971) concurs. It is interesting that some cameos of the period are signed by Dioscourides, as Dioscourides of Samos is the signature of the maker of some mosaics found at

- Pompeii. Is there a connection? The question of the cameos clearly needs some further investigation.
- 18 Jones (1912, 169). After Jones pronounced that it was not ancient, interest in discussing the bust evaporated. Ashby (1920) described its discovery, but commented that 'it is believed to be modern'. Perhaps this reflects the respect with which Jones is regarded by later scholars.
 - 19 Buchan (1937, 21). In his preface Buchan wrote that he became fascinated by Augustus during his education and wanted to counter views which ascribed his success to the ideas of Julius Caesar or Agrippa. He admitted that the task would be difficult because many important contemporary sources, such as Augustus' autobiography and books of Livy's history no longer exist. He also considered later writers such as Suetonius and Dio Cassius to be unreliable. He admitted that his 'interpretation of Augustus is a personal thing, coloured insensibly by my own beliefs'. His description of the manner of Maecenas is probably based on primary texts which suggest 'effeminacy', such as Seneca the Younger. His physical description is either a figment of his imagination or is based on some portrait which he had seen and which he believed to be of Maecenas, such as the bust in the Capitoline Museum.
 - 20 André (1967, no pagination).
 - 21 Smythe (1995).
 - 22 Moretti (1959, 231); Toynbee (1953, 86); Keiser (1957) no pagination, Earl (1968, 114); Bianchi (1994, 17); Andreae (2005, 158–9); Coarelli (2014, 303) support the identification of Maecenas. Syme (1986, 166) considers the figure to be Paullus the Censor. Holloway (1984, 628) and Rossini (2012, 79) support Sextus Appuleius *pater*. Mlasowsky (2010, 32) suggests either Sextus Appuleius or Maecenas. Simon (1967, 19) suggested Horace, but (2012, 40) identifies the figure merely as an old man. Ridley, in a forthcoming article, will argue that the figure is Sextus Appuleius the Elder based on the similarity in physiognomy to the Appuleius identified as the *flamen Iulialis* and the fact that he is 'Augustus' brother-in-law'. I thank Professor Ridley for making the article available to me.
 - 23 Bianchi (1994, 13).
 - 24 Rossini (2012, 61) agrees with this identification.
 - 25 Simon (2012, 37–8).
 - 26 For example, Bianchi (1994, 16) and Rossini (2012, 54). See also Suet. *Aug* 43.2 and Dio 54.26.1.
 - 27 Rossini (2012, 55) suggests that Gaius is dressed in tunic and a torque as he has just taken part in the *Lusus Troiae*. The figure identified as his younger brother Lucius on the north side is similarly dressed.
 - 28 Bianchi (1994, 17).
 - 29 Holloway (1984, 628); Rossini (2012, 79).
 - 30 Mlasowsky (2010, 32 and 48).
 - 31 Simon (1967, 19, 2012, 40).
 - 32 Syme (1986, 166).
 - 33 Suet. *Vita Horati. habitu corporis fuit brevis atque obesus, qualis et a semet ipso in saturis describitur et ab Augusto hac epistula: 'pertuli ad me Onysius libellum tuum, quem ego ut excusantem, quantuluscumque est, boni consulo. vereri autem mihi videris ne maiores libelli tui sint, quam ipse es; sed tibi statura deest, corpusculum non deest. itaque licebit in sextariolo scribas, quo circuitus voluminis tui sit ὀγκωδέστατος, sicut est ventriculi tui'*. Suetonius quotes a letter from Augustus, which perhaps shows the emperor's sense of humour. The letter contains a series of diminutives (*libellum, quantuluscumque, libelli, corpusculum, sextariolo, ventriculi*), with which Augustus keeps reminding the reader of Horace's

shortness of stature. Horace refers to his own fatness in *Ep.* 1.4.15 and small stature in *Ep.* 1.20.24.

- 34 Rossini (2012, 79). This is the view of Holloway (1984, 628).
- 35 Moretti (1959, 231).
- 36 Toynbee (1953, 86); Keiser (1957, no pagination); Earl (1968, 114); Bianchi (1994, 17); Andrae (2005, 121–61); Coarelli (2014, 303).
- 37 Andrae (2005, 121–61).
- 38 Plut. *Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero* 3.1 (Extract 77 in Appendix A). See for example Everitt (2006, 227).
- 39 The term ‘third triumvirate’ is the term which I use to describe Octavian/Augustus, Agrippa and Maecenas.
- 40 Andrae (2005, 124–5).
- 41 There is a painting dated to 1743 by Tiepolo, which is entitled ‘Maecenas presenting the personification of the Arts to Augustus’. (Hermitage, St. Petersburg) There is a painting from the middle of the nineteenth century (1844) by Jalabert, which is entitled ‘Virgil, Horace and Varius with Maecenas’. (Musée des Beaux Arts, Nîmes) Tiepolo’s painting shows Maecenas in profile on the left introducing the figures representing the Arts to a seated Augustus. The profile face is small and it is difficult to see whether there are similarities between it and the sculpted figures. Julia Haig Gaisser states that the painting was commissioned by Count Algarotti to present to Count von Brühl who considered himself to be ‘Maecenas’ to his ‘Augustus’, King Augustus III of Saxony and Poland. (Gaisser 2010, 554) Tiepolo was interested in painting scenes from Roman history, such as his famous ‘Banquet of Cleopatra’ in the National Gallery of Victoria. Jalabert also shows Maecenas in profile seated on the right of the picture with the poets Virgil, Horace and Varius.
- 42 The note above gives a reason for Tiepolo including Maecenas in his painting. The large bust at Coole Park might have been produced for the owner, as he was the centre of a group of Irish writers, just as Maecenas was patron of the best known patron of the Augustan Age. One can only speculate as to the reason why portraits of Maecenas seem to have been produced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It may well be that unscrupulous people were cashing in on the interest being shown by travellers in the people of the classical age by producing fake items. It is possible that an original portrait considered to be Maecenas existed at that time which they copied. This, too, can only be speculation. This is certainly an issue which deserves further exploration.
- 43 Virgil (70–19 BC), Horace (65–8 BC), Nicolaus of Damascus (c64 BC–AD 3), Livy (59 BC–AD 17), Propertius (c54–c15 BC), Seneca the Elder (c50 BC–c AD 40), *Elegiae in Maecenatem* (c8 BC), Velleius Paterculus (c30 BC–c AD 37), Caesius Bassus (C1 AD), Seneca the Younger (c5 BC–AD 65), Pliny the Elder (AD 23–79), Quintilian (c AD 35–c AD 96), the author of *Laus Pisonis* (c AD 60), Martial (c AD 40–c AD 104), Plutarch (c AD 46–c AD 120), Juvenal (c AD 50–c AD 130), Tacitus (c AD 55–c AD 117), Suetonius (c AD 70–c AD 130), Appian (c AD 96–c AD 180), Fronto (c AD 100–166), Pseudo-Acron (C2 AD ?), Cassius Dio (c AD 164–c AD 230), Aelian (c AD 170–235), Solinus (soon after AD 200), Porphyryon (early C3 AD), Censorinus (C3 AD), Victorinus (C3–4 AD), Donatus (C4 AD), Servius (C4 AD), Charisius (late C4 AD), Macrobius (fl. c AD 400), Orosius (C5 AD), Priscian (C5–C6 AD), Justinian (c AD 482–565) and Isidorus (AD 602–36).
- 44 Scaliger (1573).
- 45 Schoonhoven (1992).
- 46 See for example Tarrant (2002, 24)

Ovid specifically responds to Virgil's canonical status with a variety of self-assertive manoeuvres. One of these is shameless appropriation of Virgil's language. Virgil was said to have remarked that it is easier to steal Hercules' club than a line of Homer (*Vit. Donat.* 46). Ovid stages a series of daring daylight robberies, quoting signature lines of the *Aeneid* in shockingly discordant contexts. ... The element of pure cheek in such transgressive quotations is undeniable, but they also show that Virgilian epic language can be redirected to Ovidian erotic ends and that all poetic language is open to reuse by a sufficiently strong reader/writer.

(see Kenney 1973, 118–28)

47 Schoonhoven (1980, 62).

48 Richmond (1994), in his review of Schoonhoven's book (1992) for *JRS*, finds his theory unconvincing. Likewise, Butrica (1993), in his review for *The Classical Review* (Vol.43, No.2, pp. 265–7) is unconvinced by his argument. He considers that 'nothing adduced in proof is incompatible with an Augustan date'. He also considers that:

Schoonhoven offers no systematic account of why he and many others have maintained a post-Augustan date, namely the similarities with later works, especially Ovid's exile poetry, where it is alleged that *CL* must be the imitator ... But the case is not conclusive; many of the similarities involve either commonplaces or unremarkable collocations or phrases shared with other authors.

49 Bickel (1950, 221ff). Wieding (1888, 61) and Witlox (1934, xvii) give a Tiberian date. Oldecop (1911, 74) and Middendorf (1912, 11) place it after AD 43/44. Kraus (in *RE* 18, 1974, 21–56) suggests a Claudian date. Münscher (1922, 56) and Axelsson (1930, 24) suggest a Neronian date.

50 Duff in *OCD* (1949, 28) and Duffs (1934, 115–16).

51 Copray (1940); Schoonhoven (1992).

52 Schoonhoven (1980, 57).

53 *OLD* (278) does give the meanings 'solemn ritual utterance', 'ceremonial formula' and 'epitaph' as meanings for *carmen*. Perhaps this could be stretched poetically to mean 'funeral oration'. *Carminē* (three syllables) is easier to fit into the line than *orationē* (five syllables), the scansion of which will not fit into a hexameter or pentameter.

54 Ovid *The Art of Love and Other Poems* translated by J.H. Mozley, revised by G.P. Goold, (2004) Cambridge, MA xiii. He does not identify the scholars.

55 Copray (1940).

56 Schoonhoven (1992, 137).

57 Richmond (2003, *NP* 3.703–4).

58 It might be argued that there is nothing very significant about a mere eight uses of the word in a poem of 3,016 words in 474 lines. This can be countered by the fact that the *Aeneid*, a poem of 10,096 lines contains only 38 uses of *pīus* and 22 of *pietas*, although the concept is a key feature of the epic and the epithet used for its hero.

59 References are to the *Aeneid* unless stated: Line 1: *diu* 2.509, 6.738, 10.86 *dicta* 2.678; Line 3: *iam* 1.133, 1.699 *carmen* G2.176 *miserabile carmen* G4.514; Line 5: *pietas* 2.430 *distendit* (*distendunt*) 1.433 *amore* 5.5, 7.769 *duorum* 2.213; Line 7: *et quisquam* (*nec quisquam*) 7.703, 11.872 *leges* 1.507, 4.213, 8322, 11.322, 12.315 *audet* 5.383, 9.802 *dicere* 7.370; Line 9: *ei mihi* 2.274, 12.620 *quamvis* E3.84 *contigit* 2.649; Line 11: *scilicet* 2.577, 4.379, 6.526 *fulminis* 10.177 *ictu*

- 2.544, 5.274; Line 13: *occidit* 12.641, 12.660, 12.828 *venerabile* 6.408, 12.767; Line 15 *latebrosas* 5.214, 8.713, 12.587 *hostibus* 10.903.
- 60 *Consolatio ad Liviam* lines 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 50: Verg. *Aen.* 1.203; 1.753; 2.25; 2.229; 2.585; 2.586; 2.587; 2.796; 3.121; 3.283; 3.297; 3.431; 3.606; 3.653; 4.46.
- 61 This use is sometimes considered to be an accusative of respect, sometimes treated as if the participle is akin to a Greek middle verb. See, for example, Williams' (1972) note on *Aeneid* 1.228 (page 178). *OLD* gives two examples of such an accusative after *vinctus*, one from Horace (*Ep.* 2.1.110) and the other from Propertius (4.9.52). It gives two examples of *laniata* used in this way, one from Virgil (*A.* 12.606), the other from Ovid (*Met.* 6.531).
- 62 Suet. *Verg.* 44.
- 63 Propertius use of *plumosus* is one of two given in the *OLD*. The other use is by Pliny for 'down' on a leaf.
- 64 Livy 2.19–20 and 2.52.5. For the date of the dedication see, for example, Cornell (1995, 293) and Lanciani (1979, 269). For 499/496 see, for example, Cornell (1995, 293); for 494 see Lanciani (1979, 269). There is no information in *LTUR* 1.242–5 (I. Nielsen).
- 65 Cornell (1995, 293–4).
- 66 Cass. Dio 54.29.8 and 54.24.2–3; Sear (1982, 56).
- 67 *RG* 20.
- 68 Cass. Dio 55.27.3–4. Richardson (2012, 172). See contra Levick (2010, 193) who suggests AD 10.
- 69 Cass. Dio 54.28.1–3.
- 70 Cass. Dio 54.31.1–2.
- 71 Cass. Dio 54.32ff.
- 72 Cass. Dio 54.32.3.
- 73 Cic. *Verr.* 2.50.130.
- 74 Schoonhoven (1992, 33–4).
- 75 *Minor Latin Poets* Volume 1 Loeb Classical Library (Harvard, 1934, 120–39); Schoonhoven (1980).
- 76 Enk in *OCD* (1st edition, 312) and in the 4th edition (2012, 499) (the reference to Skutsch has gone in the 4th edition) suggests, on the basis of Schoonhoven (1980), that the elegies were written between AD 50 and 75 on evidence of copying of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*. If, as this paper suggests, the author of the elegies is Augustus himself, he could have drawn on Ovid's work, even if that means that he wrote the elegies some time after the death of Maecenas. It is also possible that Ovid might have been influenced by the elegies rather than the other way round. There seems to be no reason why this should not be the case. Tarrant's view (n 46) supports this contention.
- 77 Schoonhoven (1980, 65).
- 78 It is a common process for ancient authors to borrow from other ancient authors, as this was considered a form of flattery rather than plagiarism.
- 79 The Duffs suggest that the author of the *Elegies* is also the author of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*. The Duffs (1934, 115) identify Scaliger (1573) as the first to suggest that the *Elegies* and the *Consolatio* were both written by Albinovanus Pedo. This idea was followed by, for example, Gorallus (1703) and Meineke (1819), while others such as Burman (1759) considered the author unknown. Although the Duffs seem to reject Albinovanus Pedo, they do concede that there are similarities between the works and point to the fact that the author of the *Elegies* states that he had already written a lament for Drusus (lines 1–2). Schoonhoven (1980, 7–79), while conceding similarities between the works, argues for a later date for the *Elegies* and for an unknown author. He also argues that the *Consolatio* was

composed before the *Elegies*. Virgil died on 21 September 19 BC (Suet. *Virg.* 35).

- 80 Schoonhoven (1980, 1). He points out (2) that ‘the textual tradition of the *Maecenas* is wholly embedded in that of the *Appendix Vergiliana*’.
- 81 OLD 118 *amicus* 3b; 2112 *usus* 14 with dative of person and the verb *sum* plus a genitive = there is a need of.
- 82 OLD 118 *amicus* 5.
- 83 Suet. *Vita Hor.* We learn from Suetonius that the ‘sudden violence of his illness’ made him unable to sign his will, although he confirmed it by word of mouth.
- 84 Richer (1748, 69 fn. q) suggests that Ovid might not even have known Maecenas, although this seems very unlikely. Ovid himself writes that he cultivated and supported the poets of that era and thought them to be gods (*Trist.* 4.10.41–42). Yet he writes that he only saw Virgil and therefore did not know him personally (*Trist.* 4.10.51).
- 85 Scaliger (1573) combines the two *Elegies* and the *Consolatio ad Liviam* under the authorship of Albinovanus Pedo.
- 86 Meibonius (1653, 43).
- 87 Richer (1748, 7). Further on (80) he refers to the panegyrist as Maecenas’ contemporary Pedo. This could be Albinovanus Pedo. On p. 54 in fn. c he identifies Albinovanus Pedo as the writer of the first *Elegy* by citing him as the author of lines 35–6 of that elegy, but then writes:

and Pedonius (a contemporary poet) says of him, that he was accustomed to pay his court to the Virgin Sisters in his delightful garden, seated beneath the cool shades of his green spreading trees, whence the delicious birds constantly warbled their harmonious songs.

Richer, then, seems to be thoroughly confused on the issue, and Schomberg does not pick up or comment upon this inconsistency in his translation. It is quite possible that at some stage the genitive *Pedonis* became *Pedonius* by an error of transcription. The suggestion from one of the examiners of my thesis that it might be Dioscorides Pedanius, a writer of the first century AD, bore no fruit. He seems to have confined himself to writing in Greek on medical matters.

- 88 Gorallus (1703, 106ff); Wernsdorf (1782, 155ff); Lemaire (1824, 210ff); Ribbeck (1868, 193ff); Ellis (1907), Burman (1759, 251ff).
- 89 Duff in *OCD* (1949, 28). Richmond in *NP* (2004, 4, 899).
- 90 Courtney in *OCD* (2012, 49).
- 91 Richmond in *NP* (2004, 4, 899).
- 92 Suet. *Aug.* 29.
- 93 Levi (2012, 246). This view perhaps follows that of Dyer in a *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* ed. Smith (1894). Dyer writes: ‘the elegies attributed to Pedo Albinovanus, but which have been pronounced spurious by a large majority of the best critics’. He does not, however, substantiate this claim with supporting evidence.
- 94 *OCD* 979. 10b. does give ‘will’ as a meaning of Sallust’s words.
- 95 Copray (1940, 102).
- 96 Schoonhoven (1980, 77).
- 97 Richmond in *NP* (2004, 4, 899) states: ‘The use of myth is on occasion obscure, expression and metre are consistent with the Augustan period’.
- 98 Schoonhoven (1980, 62).
- 99 Le Doze (2014) came very close to this conclusion, while considering which friend of Maecenas might have written the *Elegies*. He writes: ‘On pense à

Auguste bien sûr. Bien qu'il n'y ait là rien que d'hypothétique' – 'One certainly thinks of Augustus. Although it can only be hypothetical.' A closer consideration of the evidence might have led him to the same conclusion as I have reached.

- 100 *Kölner Pap.* 1.no.10. Syme (1986, 153).
- 101 Courtney (1993, 282–3). The lines are contained in Martial 11.20.
- 102 Suet. *Aug* 85.
- 103 Suet. *Cl.* 1.
- 104 See page 10 and n.53.
- 105 Syme (1939, 428–9) discusses the relationship between Lollius, Augustus and Tiberius, his fall from favour and his suicide in AD 2. Le Doze (2014, 29) points out that, although Lollius, consul in 21 BC, did eventually fall from favour, that did not happen until well after the death of Maecenas.
- 106 Vell. Pat. 2.97.1. See Syme (1939, 428).
- 107 Suet. *Aug* 29; Prop. 4.6.
- 108 The earliest example seems to be a denarius minted in 129 BC by Sextus Julius Caesar with Venus in a chariot on the reverse. Before 31 BC Octavian issued a denarius featuring Venus Genetrix.
- 109 Levick (2010, 15, 203, 266). She argues that it was common for aristocratic families to link themselves to a variety of gods. She also suggests that the choice of Hercules links Augustus to his supposed ancestor Romulus, who establishes an altar to Hercules (Livy 1.7.15). There is also the suggestion that Augustus will extend the Roman empire further than the area covered by Hercules in his Labours.
- 110 The version of the line give by the Duffs makes much more sense than the line as emended by Ellis (1907) in the Oxford Appendix Vergiliana [*vincit vulgaris, vincit Berytus harenas*], even if only one manuscript gives 'beryllus'.
- 111 Macr. 2.4.12 (Extract 157).
- 112 Isid. *Etym.* 19.32.6 (Extract 161) *lucentes, mea vita, nec smaragdoso/ beryllo mihi, Flacce, nec nitentes/ nec per candida margarita quaero* – I do not seek for myself bright emeralds or shining beryls, Flaccus (Horace), light of my life, or shining white pearls.
- 113 Prop. 4.7.9 *et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis* – and fire had eaten at the customary beryl on her finger (when Propertius describes the appearance of Cynthia's ghost).
- 114 The other three uses are Juvenal 5.37 – *ipse capaces/ Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo/ Virro tenet phialas* – 'Virro himself holds capacious goblets encrusted with amber and rough with beryl'; Curtius *History of Alexander* 9.1.30 (describing the Indian king Sopithes) – *vestis erat auro purpuraque distincta, quae etiam crura velabat, aureis soleis inseruerat gemmas, lacerti quoque et brachia margaritis ornate erant, pendebat ex auribus insignes candore ac magnitudine lapilli, baculum aureum berylli distinguebant* – 'His robe which covered his legs as well as the rest of his body was embroidered with gold and purple, he wore golden sandals studded with gems, his shoulders and arms were adorned with pearls and from his ears hung pearls conspicuous for whiteness and size. His golden sceptre was ornamented with beryl'; Pliny *Natural History* 37.76 where Pliny describes beryl at length in his general discussion of minerals and gems.
- 115 *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. His autobiography dedicated to Agrippa and Maecenas has not survived.
- 116 Schoonhoven (1980, 28–31).
- 117 Schoonhoven (1980).
- 118 Schoonhoven (1980, 64).

- 119 Commentators consider that Hor. *Carm.* 3.4. 28 is evidence that Horace, who was accompanying Maecenas, escape drowning in the storm which battered Octavian's fleet in the struggle against Sextus Pompey in 36 BC. See, for example, Rudd (2004, 155).
- 120 Cass. Dio (51.3.5) states that Maecenas was in Rome at the time. *Contra*: Hor. *Epod.* 1, Prop. 2.1.
- 121 Hor. *Epod.* 1; Prop. 2.1.
- 122 Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.2–4 (Extract 57).
- 123 Duffs (1934, 135).
- 124 Schoonhoven (1980, 179).
- 125 Cass. Dio 54.19.3 (Extract 137).
- 126 The *lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis* had been passed in 18 BC.
- 127 For example, Everitt (2006, 280); Goldsworthy (2014, 335).
- 128 Duffs (1934, 137); Schoonhoven (1980, 179–81).
- 129 Le Doze (2014, 200).
- 130 Schoonhoven (1980, 62, 1992, 22–39).
- 131 Avallone (1962, 60) writes that Maecenas was Epicurean; André (1967) believes that he was Epicurean, but not totally committed to the philosophy; Le Doze (2014) considers him to be an Epicurean, not a true Epicurean, but a Roman version of one.
- 132 Tac. *Ann.* 14.53–6, Avallone (1962, 60–1) writes 'Seneca, the unlucky minister of Nero, could not help envying Maecenas, the most fortunate minister of Augustus' (my translation of the Italian).
- 133 Byrne (1999, 37). Pfundstein, in his review of the essay for Bryn Mawr (23/05/2000), believes that Byrne's argument is persuasive and that the target of Seneca's attack may be Petronius.
- 134 Axelson (1930, 30); Schoonhoven (1980, 68).
- 135 Schoonhoven (1992).
- 136 Richmond (1994) in *JRS* 84, 270.
- 137 Meibomius, J.H. (1653).
- 138 Richer (1748). Richer wrote

It is with an intent to make him [Maecenas] better known that I have undertaken his history. Meibomius, a learned German, has done it in Latin; but there are many, who do not understand that language; and those who do, may have observed that he has cloaked the life of Maecenas with such a number of quotations and endless digressions that the facts relating to his life are left in an ocean of profound criticism and learning. Nor has he preserved everywhere a regular method as to the order of time. I have endeavoured to rectify this. Meibomius was, I confess, of use to me in my completion of this work. I have corrected, expunged, and added some new observations.

(1748, ix)

Schomberg published his translation of Richer in English in London in 1766, which Dyer, in Smith's *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (1894) Vol.2, 895, states is 'a mere compilation from Meibom and Richer, and shows no critical discrimination'. Dyer is, in fact, incorrect, as Schomberg translated into English the work of Richer (1748), but did not aim to edit it.

- 139 Avallone (1962); André (1967).
- 140 Byrne (1996) *Maecenas* PhD thesis at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

- 141 Partuzo (1999); Chillet (2016) considers this book to be too parochial, as it is
published near to Arezzo, and lacks analysis of the ancient sources.
- 142 Le Doze (2014); Chillet (2016).
- 143 Reinhold (1933); Roddaz (1984).
- 144 For example Southern (1998) has 38 references to Agrippa, but only 12 to
Maecenas; Everitt (2006) has 59 references to Agrippa, but only 23 to Maece-
nas; Goldsworthy (2014) has 51 references to Agrippa and 22 to Maecenas.
Contra Syme (1939) has 39 references to Agrippa and 25 to Maecenas, a more
balanced approach.
- 145 Chillet (2016, 4–6).

1 Maecenas

Gaius Cilnius(?) Maecenas (c70–8 BC), the Etruscan *eques*, right-hand man of Augustus and literary patron, was one of the most important figures of the Augustan age, yet he remains a figure in the background about whom little is known. There has been much discussion among scholars as to whether his name included Cilnius. Two primary sources give him this name: Tacitus *Annals* 6.11 (Extract 83) and Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.4.12 (Extract 123). Richer begins his *Life of Maecenas* with the words ‘Gaius Cilnius Maecenas’ to which he adds the footnote:

Gaius was the proper name of Maecenas, Cilnius that of his family, and Maecenas his surname. It was customary among the Romans to give the family name to their children the very next day after they were born; the proper name was assumed when they put on the *toga virilis*; and the surname distinguished the different branches of the family; this however was often given on other occasions. Two surnames were sometimes bestowed on one and the same person the last of which was added on account of some gallant action or victory e.g. Africanus given to Scipio.¹ Varro, Book vii, says Maecenas took his name from some place (in Etruria).²

Meibomius, on whose Latin biography of Maecenas Richer had based his work, also discusses Maecenas’ name in some detail.³ Thus in the seventeenth century the discussion began.

Scholars also discuss the origin of his name, particularly the likelihood of Cilnius, the name of a ruling family in Arretium, coming from his mother’s side, and the reasons why Maecenas might have adopted the name. Avallone considers him to be linked to the Cilnii, a ruling family in Arretium, on his mother’s side, an argument which Heurgon also makes.⁴ Earl discusses his name and suggests that Maecenas may have adopted the name Cilnius from his mother’s family, because it had a Roman ending and he hoped that it would give him respectability. He suggests that his name was simply Maecenas and that Maecenas was vain and devious enough to adopt his mother’s Roman sounding family name with its added link to the ruling family of

Arretium.⁵ Simpson considers that ‘a long-standing and convincing argument has been made against Cilnius as his patronym’.⁶ He also argues that, although Richardson/Cadoux suggest that ‘Cilnius may have been his mother’s name’, there is no evidence to support this view.⁷ He suggests that, although Augustus used this name in the letter to which Macrobius refers, the emperor was merely referring to Maecenas’ Etruscan background rather than his family background, and that Tacitus may have misunderstood the same letter from Augustus because he thought that Maecenas had suppressed his family name just as Agrippa had done. It is also possible, however, that he was simply C. Maecenas and that Tacitus, knowing of the significance of the Cilnii in Arretium through Livy (10.3), thought that the C stood for Cilnius rather than Gaius, although *nomina* were never abbreviated. Simpson considers that, if his name were Cilnius, it would have been evident in other primary sources. This may well be true, but it is also possible that the use of the name Cilnius by any primary source could be evidence of a family link which was known to that ancient source.

Shannon Byrne, who is much influenced by Walker on the innuendo and ‘allusiveness’ in Tacitus, agrees with Simpson that Cilnius is not a patronymic, but disagrees when she argues that it is thought that Maecenas was related to the *gens Cilnia*.⁸ She points to the fact that some commentators from Bormann (1883) onwards, including Heurgon (1964), speculate that Maecenas added this name following Etruscan custom. She sees a much more sinister and subtle game being played by Tacitus. She argues that Tacitus in *Annals* 6.11 adds the name to put further emphasis on the unsuitability of Augustus’ choice of the equestrian Maecenas as *de facto praefectus urbi*, when he was absent from Rome, as this post was subsequently filled by senators. She concludes: ‘Such presentation is indicative of Tacitus’ approach to the history of the principate in general, and of his treatment of Maecenas in particular’. She claims that this view is supported by *Annals* 3.30.2 where Tacitus is being critical of Tiberius and Sallustius, but mentions Maecenas, as he was the first imperial minister whose activities were shrouded in secrecy. She may well be right in her summation of Tacitus’ approach to the principate in general, but her argument against Maecenas is based on a very small number of references to Maecenas in the *Annals*. There are only seven passages in which Tacitus names Maecenas (Extracts 81–87). In the first (*Annals* 1.54) he refers to Maecenas’ love for Bathyllus, a relationship which is open to dispute. In the second (*Annals* 3.30) it is true that Tacitus may be being critical of the role Maecenas played under Augustus, but the criticism does not seem strong. With regard to the third (*Annals* 6.11), there is conclusive evidence that the position of *praefectus urbi* began to be a regular appointment at the end of Augustus’ reign and under Tiberius.⁹ There is no evidence that Maecenas held such a position. The fourth and fifth (*Annals* 14.53 and 14.55) refer to Seneca’s plea to Nero to be allowed to retire, as Agrippa and Maecenas had been allowed to do by Augustus, and Nero’s reply. The sixth (*Annals* 15.39) refers to Nero

watching the fire in Rome from the tower on Maecenas' estate. The seventh (*Dialogue on Oratory* 26) condemns Maecenas' manner of speaking, much as Seneca had in *Epistulae Morales* 114. Byrne seems to read too much into the limited Tacitean evidence. Le Doze, although he agrees that the name Cilnius came from his mother's side, suggests that we have no way of knowing how or when the two families came together.¹⁰ Chillet discusses the *gens Cilnia* at length.¹¹ He considers that the *gens Cilnia* is firmly based in the valley of Chiana and the town of Arezzo, while Maecenas' family had been equestrians in Rome for several generations.¹² He concludes that, although there is a lack of definitive evidence, Maecenas may be related to the Cilnii through his mother.

Origins

His place of birth was Arretium (Arezzo) and he was of Etruscan descent, perhaps connected to Etruscan royalty as the writer of the anonymous elegy suggests (*regis eras, Etrusce, genus*).¹³ Meibomius, in his biography of Maecenas written in Latin, gives a detailed genealogy for Maecenas which links him to Elbius Volturrenus, the Tyrrhenian king who was killed at the battle against the Romans at Lake Vadimon in 283 BC.¹⁴ Richer, without any supporting evidence, but presumably following Meibomius, states that his father was Menodorus, who was descended from Elbius Volturrenus, the last king of Arretium, himself descended from Porsenna of Clusium.¹⁵ If they are correct, Maecenas is linked to Etruscan royalty on his father's side as well as being linked to the famous Cilnii through his mother. Also, if they are correct, we should rule out the possibility that he was descended from L. Maecenas, as Chillet argues.¹⁶ Macrobius quotes Augustus' playful farewells to Maecenas, which emphasise Maecenas' Etruscan background and include Arretium and the Cilnii and Porsenna.¹⁷

No text gives a year for his birth, although Horace gives us the date of his birth as 13 April.¹⁸ Meibomius discusses the year at some length, but concludes that it is unknown.¹⁹ Richer agreed.²⁰ Avallone states that he was born in one of the years between 74 and 70 BC.²¹ Le Doze suggests that Maecenas is older than Octavian and Agrippa, but places his birth in some year from 74–68, as he concedes that there is no clear evidence.²² Schmidt states that he was born in 70 BC.²³ Potter gives his dates as 70–8 BC.²⁴ Andreae states that he was born in Rome on 13 April 65 BC.²⁵ Others, such as Blond and Everitt, suggest that he was born closer to the birth dates of Augustus and Agrippa in 63 BC.²⁶ Schoonhoven suggests that Avallone and Schmidt may have been following Meibonius, who put forward these dates based on the fact that Maecenas is referred to as *senex* in the early lines of the first *Elegy* and Varro considered the word referred to those over sixty.²⁷ Buchan states that Octavian and Agrippa were both nineteen in 43 BC, and Maecenas a few years older.²⁸ Not one of these writers provides any supporting evidence for the date which they give for his birth. They are,

therefore, guesses working back from the year of his death. Since there is no primary evidence for a year of his birth, we must assume that the early commentators Meibomius and Richer are correct in arguing that it cannot be known.

There is no evidence of his early life, of when he came to Rome and how he rose to prominence there. André in a summary of his life at the beginning of his book suggests that from 60–46 BC he was perhaps educated and brought up in Rome and Naples. He also suggests that from 46 until April 44 BC he spent time with Octavian studying in Athens and Apollonia. André does not, however, produce any supporting evidence for any of this. Suetonius writes that Octavian had been sent ahead to Apollonia by Julius Caesar when he was preparing an expedition against Parthia in 45/44 BC, and that Octavian spent the time waiting there in study.²⁹ Suetonius also writes that he took Apollodorus of Pergamon, his teacher of rhetoric, to Apollonia with him.³⁰ Schmidt suggests Nicolaus of Damascus (31, 133) as an authority for Maecenas' father being among the friends and counsellors of Octavian.³¹ It could well be that Nicolaus was confusing father with son, and that it was, in fact, Maecenas himself who held this position with Octavian.³² If Maecenas' father was named Menodorus, as Meibomius and Richer state, and not another Maecenas, then Nicolaus must have made an error.

We cannot state with certainty the nature of Maecenas' upbringing, but it seems fair to assume that he received the form of education given to the sons of equestrians. We are told that he was learned in conversations in 'both' languages.³³ Although Avallone thinks that this may refer to fluency in Latin and Etruscan, it seems more likely that Maecenas had received an education which gave him fluency in Latin and Greek, or at least an ability to read and engage with Greek texts.³⁴ A passage in the elder Seneca supports the view that he was conversant with Greek.³⁵ It is still possible that he spoke Etruscan, although its use as a language had been supplanted by Latin by his day.³⁶ It is very likely that his education included rhetoric and philosophy. In spite of Aelian's claim that he may have been influenced by the Stoicism of Arion of Alexandria, his later lifestyle encourages the view that he was influenced by Epicureanism, a philosophy which reached its peak in the middle of the first century BC.³⁷

Maecenas, although of Etruscan origins, was a member of the *equites*, the second richest class in Augustan Rome, for which the qualification was monetary.³⁸ He made much of his wealth through the civil wars. The papyrus fragment in the British Museum seems to be evidence that Maecenas had estates in Egypt.³⁹ If this is the case, his ownership of such estates must surely have been the result of a personal gift from Octavian, since Octavian made Egypt his own province. Osgood considers that Maecenas and others like him could be seen as 'rapacious thieves' for the way in which they benefited from 'taking over or selling the estates of those proscribed and those who fell at Philippi'.⁴⁰ Maecenas took the estate of the Catonian Favonius.⁴¹ Osgood suggests that Maecenas took over Favonius'

estate after Philippi and used some of the proceeds to construct his house and sumptuous gardens (*horti Maecenatis*) on the Esquiline Hill, which included the first heated swimming pool in Rome, transforming a rundown area into gardens for the benefit of Romans in general where they could enjoy a pleasant stroll.⁴² Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* (19.177) says that Sabinus Tiro dedicated his book on gardening to Maecenas.⁴³ Perhaps Sabinus was in charge of the development of the *horti*. Lanciani explains that the cemetery on the Esquiline had two parts, one for ‘slaves, beggars, prisoners and executed prisoners’, the other for citizens who could afford proper burial.⁴⁴ The former, an area of approximately three hundred by ninety metres, was excavated in the nineteenth century. The excavations showed that it was a foul area used for those who could not afford or did not deserve proper burial, dead animals and city refuse. Lanciani goes on to explain that for sanitary reasons the whole area was covered by soil to a depth of ‘six to eight metres’. He suggests that this work was undertaken ‘under Augustus at the suggestion of his prime minister C. Cilnius Maecenas’. This is would have been a massive and expensive task at the time. Once the ground had been buried to what was considered a safe depth, Maecenas’ Gardens were laid out on top. There is evidence of this transformation in Horace *Satires* 1.8 and Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat.* 1.8 and *ad Hor. Sat.* 2.6.⁴⁵ Horace attests to the wholesome nature of the gardens, which became a popular place for Romans to enjoy their leisure time.

The only extant evidence of his estate is the so-called Auditorium of Maecenas, which may have been a recital hall used by his circle of poets.⁴⁶ It is in the form of an apse at the end of a rectangular hall, measuring approximately ten by twenty-five metres. Lanciani describes the structure as follows:

It is a noble hall built of reticulated work, half underground, with six niches on each of the side walls, and seven steps in the curve of the apse.... The apse and the niches were covered with exquisite landscapes, in the style of those of Livia’s villa at Prima Porta. These have since all faded away except a few bits under the shelter of the niches. Visconti gave the hall the name of auditorium or “sala de recitazioni”, assuming that it could accommodate 334 spectators; others believe it to have been a conservatory for rare and delicate plants.⁴⁷

It has also been suggested that it is a nymphaeum or part of a bathhouse. In light of Maecenas’ role as a patron of poets and a supporter of pantomime, it does seem most likely that it was used as a recital hall, as poets often recited their works. The house was later incorporated into Nero’s Golden House by means of the *domus transitoria*. The area may have been incorporated into the baths of Trajan, which replaced the Golden House of Nero, although its position on the external edge of the Severan Wall suggests that it was outside that area.

The proceeds from Favonius' estate may well have given him the resources to begin his patronage of poets which started soon after Philippi. It is interesting that he chose to live on the edge of Rome on the Esquiline Hill rather than closer to the city centre with others of his class. We know that Virgil had a house close by and that both Horace and Propertius probably lived there too. It is highly likely that other members of his circle of poets also lived there. This would have stimulated poetic production and, no doubt, led to cross-fertilization of ideas and poetic metres, such as borrowed lines that can be identified in the works of the poets.⁴⁸ The peacefulness of the area compared to the centre of Rome is attested by Suetonius' statement that Tiberius retreated to the area in AD 2.⁴⁹ This peacefulness would be very suitable for artistic output.⁵⁰ There was a tower attached to or close by Maecenas' house, from where Nero is said by Suetonius to have watched the Great Fire of Rome.⁵¹ Horace mocks the tower and exaggerates its size, because he is trying to persuade Maecenas to leave his work and the bustle of the city to share some wine with him in his peaceful country retreat in the Sabine hills.⁵² Pseudo-Acron in his comments on this poem said that there was a wide view of the city from the tower.⁵³

He was married to Terentia from the Terentii Varrones. Our knowledge of Terentia is very limited, especially since the ancient writers who mention her often do so obliquely. No ancient text gives us any information about how Maecenas met her or when they were married. André suggests that the marriage did not happen until quite late in life and perhaps as late as 23 BC.⁵⁴ One of her half-brothers was C. Proculeius, a close friend of Augustus.⁵⁵ It is possible that it was through this mutual acquaintance that he was introduced to the young Terentia. It is also possible that he met her on the journey to Brundisium in 37 BC, when Maecenas and his party were entertained near Formiae by Murena, Terentia's brother.⁵⁶ In which case, he may well have married her much nearer to that date.⁵⁷

There is no description of her. We can assume that she was beautiful, if Cassius Dio's story is to be believed.⁵⁸ We may know, however, what she looked like, if Andreae's argument about the female head found in Arezzo in 1925 is correct in its identification as Terentia.⁵⁹ The argument which he mounts for this identification seems very convincing. He identifies the bust as being from the same school of sculptors in Rome as the bust which he identifies as Maecenas. He also argues that the bust is not Livia or Octavia, who might be other female contenders at the time, but does have a hairstyle of the Livian type. There are significant differences from the usual hairstyle of Livia, but it does suggest someone following the imperial fashion of the time.⁶⁰ Whether that portrait is beautiful depends on the viewer, since beauty is in the eye of the beholder. Andreae considers the portrait to be that of a beautiful woman.⁶¹ It can be assumed from very limited information that Maecenas thought that she was beautiful and that he was passionately in love with her.⁶² Some scholars argue that Licymnia is really Terentia in *Carmina* 2.12.13–28.⁶³ If this is the case, Horace emphasises the passionate nature of

the relationship and how highly Maecenas valued his wife's love. He also writes that 'her heart is very loyal to a loving partnership' (15–16).⁶⁴

Seneca and other later writers contradict the view of the relationship put forward by Horace. Seneca writes that Maecenas' words were as peculiar as his behaviour, his companions, his household and his wife.⁶⁵ He also claims that Maecenas was married a thousand times, although he only had one wife.⁶⁶ Javolenus Priscus seems to suggest that they may have divorced.⁶⁷ In a discussion about gifts offered to divorced wives to encourage them to return, he considers what the case is if a wife accepts the gift, but then enforces the divorce. With reference to Maecenas and Terentia he argues that the gift should be considered a gift, if the divorce is real, but not, if the divorce is a sham. Perhaps he is suggesting that any break in the relationship between Maecenas and Terentia was not a real divorce. Yet, they were obviously still together in 22 BC, if Suetonius is to be believed. He suggests that Maecenas' disclosure of the plot of Caepio to Terentia, as it involved her brother Murena, led to a deterioration in the relationship between Maecenas and Augustus.⁶⁸ We shall return to this issue later in the chapter.

Cassius Dio suggests a reason for a breakdown in their marriage.⁶⁹ He claims that Augustus took her to Gaul in 16 BC to avoid the gossip about their relationship in Rome. He goes on to claim that there was some estrangement between Augustus and Maecenas because of Maecenas' wife.⁷⁰ There is the suggestion by some scholars, based on Dio's statement (54.19.6), that there was some adulterous relationship between Augustus and Terentia, which affected the relationship between Augustus and Maecenas. Pat Southern asserts that Maecenas divorced Terentia in 12 BC, allegedly 'because of Augustus' overwhelming interest in her'.⁷¹ She provides no supporting evidence or primary source. She may have been influenced by Hammond, who asserts that they were divorced in about 12 BC without referring to any evidence.⁷² There is certainly no primary evidence for such a claim. Buchan rejects the charge:

Of adultery, the only serious charge is Dio's about the wife of Maecenas; but the story does not hang together, and in any case it is improbable, since Augustus at the time was beginning his private crusade. In middle life his conduct was irreproachable. The cruelty with which he was charged in his youth was wholly absent from his maturity.⁷³

It seems unlikely that Livia would countenance such behaviour at this stage in their married life or that Augustus would become involved with another woman at a time when he had passed his laws to reform Roman morality and strengthen family life, especially in view of the problems which he was facing from members of his own family.⁷⁴ Goldsworthy sums up the role of Livia as follows: 'During Augustus' lifetime she sometimes played a significant role in public events, and was an important adviser in private'.⁷⁵ Livia

was a very strong woman who worked constantly to achieve her goals and ambitions. The idea of a beauty contest with Terentia and the story that Augustus ‘eloped’ with Terentia to Gaul are impossible to believe. Avallone writes that the anonymous *Elegy* makes clear that Maecenas’ wife and the emperor were, until his death, the great lights of his life (*amatae coniugis/ vixi te, Caesar, amico Eleg. Maec. 2. 10–11*).⁷⁶ Anderson makes the point that ‘Maecenas kept his wife Terentia and showed no great political ambition’, when comparing him to Agrippa who had three wives as a result of his political ambition.⁷⁷ The passage from Seneca may suggest that their divorce was, in fact, a sham. The relationship between the two certainly seems to have been volatile, but Seneca is indulging in hyperbole when he writes that Maecenas divorced Terentia daily.⁷⁸ If we are to believe Plutarch, it may have been Maecenas’ behaviour with other married women which riled Terentia.⁷⁹ Yet it seems a strange coincidence that Plutarch ascribes to Maecenas the same kind of behaviour which Suetonius ascribes to Augustus through the mouthpiece of Mark Antony.⁸⁰ If Maecenas and Terentia were in fact blamed for alerting Murena to the discovery of the plot, it seems very unlikely that Augustus would have involved himself in a relationship with a woman who was seen to be untrustworthy. If Williams is correct in suggesting that the tip-off was a mechanism for avoiding a difficult outcome, then it is more possible that the emperor could have had an affair with her. This scuttlebutt, expressed by Seneca and Cassius Dio, is negated, however, by the second anonymous elegy, which states that, as he lay dying, Maecenas ‘sought the embrace of his beloved wife and her kisses, words, and touch’.⁸¹ This suggests a lasting, loving relationship rather than a stormy one. Yet the use of the word ‘disagreement’ (*discidio* in line 7 of the second anonymous elegy) and the way in which Maecenas’ remarks are cut short might suggest some argument between Augustus and Maecenas, which decorum prevents him from explaining in full, as has been discussed in the introduction. If, as suggested, Augustus is the author of the elegies, he certainly would not want to bring up such a delicate matter in his expression of the deathbed scene of Maecenas. By suggesting the strong bond of love between Maecenas and Terentia in lines 9–10 he would be hinting that the relationship survived any interest that Augustus took in her.

The early relationship with Octavian

Nicolaus of Damascus, who was a protégé of Herod the Great, wrote a life of Augustus, part of which survives. He had been introduced to Augustus by Herod and would have known Maecenas. He incorrectly names him as Lucius Maecenas in a list of friends helping Octavian in 44 BC.⁸² Although he might have been a source for the reason why Maecenas and Octavian became friends, he simply lists him as a friend, but does not explain the relationship. There is one passage, however, which might give a clue. It is *Life of Augustus* 3.⁸³ Here Nicolaus says that Octavian was often in the

company of boys, adolescents and young men, the offspring of the higher classes. Nicolaus is probably wrong about the age of Octavian being nine, since he was more likely twelve as Suetonius (*Augustus* 8) and Quintilian (12.6.1) state.⁸⁴ Importantly, however, he tells us of the immense popularity of the young Octavian. It could well be that Maecenas, a wealthy young man of the equestrian class, was among this company and that is how they became friends. If we assume an age difference of about seven years between the two, Maecenas could have been one of the young men who accompanied Octavian. Both were equestrians and had origins outside Rome. Everitt refers to Octavian and his schoolmates being in their late teens when they took control of the state.⁸⁵ Octavian and Agrippa were the same age and would have been eighteen and a half at the time of Caesar's death, but Maecenas could have been at least twenty-six, and perhaps as old as thirty. It is very likely that Octavian and Agrippa had been schooled together, but, if Maecenas was about seven years older, it is unlikely that he was at school with them.⁸⁶ It is more likely that they met during their further education in philosophy and rhetoric. Avallone thinks that it is very likely that Maecenas met both Octavian and Agrippa during their education.⁸⁷ He wonders whether Maecenas was educated by the well-known rhetor, Epidius, who is thought to have tutored Virgil, Octavian, Mark Antony and others.⁸⁸ If this is the case, it is very possible that this is where Maecenas became acquainted with Mark Antony. If Plutarch is to be believed, Antony, who enjoyed musical and theatrical entertainment, may have thought that Maecenas with his interests and soft life was a kindred spirit.⁸⁹ This could account for the way in which Maecenas was able to succeed as Octavian's emissary to Antony.⁹⁰ It seems more likely that Octavian and Agrippa were schoolmates, and that Maecenas initially became acquainted with Octavian by being among the group of those drawn to Octavian, as described by Nicolaus. It may be that Octavian, having lost his own father, appreciated the advice of an older young man. Whatever the truth may be about the way in which Maecenas became acquainted with Octavian, there can be no doubting that this acquaintance led to a lifelong friendship. At the time of the assassination of Julius Caesar, Maecenas was an established friend of Octavian. So too was Agrippa. What is remarkable is the closeness and constancy of the relationship between the three, even if it may be true that Agrippa and Maecenas were not the closest of friends, as some scholars have suggested.⁹¹ The contemporary Agrippa and slightly older Maecenas joined with Octavian and gave him constant and unstinting support from the time of the assassination of Julius Caesar, through the time of the Second Triumvirate, the struggle with Antony for mastery of the Roman world and the establishment of the principate. Although Agrippa won most of Octavian's victories, he continued to support him and did not challenge his superior position. Maecenas similarly showed himself to be totally loyal in all that he did for the benefit of Octavian. Le Doze argues that Maecenas was determined to control Augustus' excesses, rashness and temper so that

he would become a model citizen.⁹² Once Octavian was established as the emperor Augustus, Maecenas was prepared to fade into the background, because he considered that Augustus could manage Rome and its empire without him. By remaining a member of the *equites* Maecenas showed that he had no political ambition. Augustus must have considered that he offered no threat to his position. Maecenas remained a loyal supporter for the rest of his life.

From the death of Julius Caesar (44 BC) to the battle of Actium (31 BC)

Maecenas' military career

Maecenas first comes to our attention as a soldier. We learn that he served loyally under Octavian (*Caesaris arma* and *propter in arma fidem*).⁹³ The evidence about his participation in various campaigns is at times confusing because of differing versions in ancient texts. If, as has been argued, Augustus was the author of the anonymous elegies, it follows that he was at Philippi, Naulochus and Actium as the first elegy asserts. The first campaign in which the young Octavian was involved after the death of Julius Caesar was at Mutina in 43 BC. The first anonymous elegy does not mention Mutina, but Propertius (2.1.27) does. The problem is that it is doubtful whether Propertius can be used as a reliable source. In 2.1 he states that, if fate had given him the ability to write about battles, he would not write about mythical conflicts, such as Troy, or ancient conflicts, such as those of Marius, but about the wars of Caesar (Augustus). The elegy is, therefore, in the form of a *recusatio*, because Propertius wants to remain a poet of love, clearly feels that he is unable to write about war and does not want to write an epic in favour of Augustus.⁹⁴ Propertius lists all the campaigns in which Octavian took part from Mutina to Egypt, because he wishes to flatter Maecenas. Propertius writes that Maecenas would have been his second theme after Augustus and that he would always weave Maecenas into those campaigns because he was such a loyal participant, whether war was starting or ending in peace. In the list of campaigns, however, Propertius includes that in Egypt. We can be certain that Maecenas did not go to Egypt with Octavian, but was in charge of Italy and Rome at that time.⁹⁵ We cannot, therefore, rely on Propertius as evidence that Maecenas fought at Mutina. Some modern commentators, nevertheless, perhaps because they misunderstand Propertius' elegy, state that Maecenas fought at Mutina.⁹⁶ Although it is possible to argue that Maecenas fought at Mutina, because he was, by then, a friend and supporter of Octavian (if Octavian was present at the battle, then it seems likely to them that Maecenas was too), there is no conclusive evidence that he did.⁹⁷ Propertius seems to have become muddled in his attempt to praise Maecenas' military career by linking it to that of Octavian, irrespective of whether Maecenas can be shown to have taken part in particular campaigns.

Ancient writers are unanimous that he fought against Brutus and Cassius at Philippi in 42 BC. The first anonymous elegy places him there (1.43–4). This is supported by Propertius (2.1.27) and Pliny the Elder.⁹⁸ Modern scholars agree with the ancient writers.⁹⁹ The first anonymous elegy also states that he fought against Sextus Pompey (1.41–2) in 36 BC.¹⁰⁰ This is supported by Appian.¹⁰¹ Avallone suggests, however, that he was given the task of preserving and reinforcing Octavian's position in Rome, while Octavian was dealing with Sextus Pompey.¹⁰² The first anonymous elegy attests to his bravery and his loyalty (*defunctus erat comes integer, idem/miles et Augusti fortis et usque pius* 1.39–40). It is also reasonable to assume that Maecenas was involved in some military capacity during Octavian's second and ultimately successful attack on Sextus Pompey, because Appian relates that Octavian, after the losses caused to his fleet by a storm, sent Maecenas to Rome to counter the pro-Pompey party.¹⁰³

The first anonymous elegy places him at Actium as well in 31 BC (1.45–8).¹⁰⁴ This is supported by Horace and Propertius, although other authorities such as Dio write that he was in Rome.¹⁰⁵ Helenius Acron (also known as Pseudo-Acron) wrote a commentary on Horace, fragments of which survive. Among those fragments is one referring to Horace *Epode* 1 in which Acron writes that both Maecenas and Horace were at Actium.¹⁰⁶ The question is whether we should believe contemporary poetic sources or a historical writer of the early third century AD, who may have relied heavily on sources which we no longer have, such as Livy's books covering the late first century BC. Du Quesnay has very persuasively argued that *Epode* 1 clearly shows that Maecenas was present at Actium.¹⁰⁷ He maintains that Maecenas had originally told Horace to stay at home (lines 7–10), but that Horace, following the very strong bond of *amicitia* between the two, insists on accompanying his friend to Actium and to share the dangers which threatened (lines 15–22). He argues that lines 23–30 show that Maecenas no longer opposed Horace's wish to accompany him, as Horace gives more reasons for going with him. He argues that by showing this devotion to Maecenas, Horace mirrors the devotion shown by Maecenas to Octavian, when he joined the large number of Romans who swore to support Octavian in the war against Cleopatra.¹⁰⁸ He argues that the poem was written after the event in spite of the use of the future tense used in line 1, as 'the language of the opening lines really makes sense only from the perspective of one writing after the event', because Horace could not have known that the outcome of Maecenas' journey would be a battle at sea in which Liburnian galleys would play an important part.¹⁰⁹ Watson, in his commentary on the *Epodes*, supports the 'powerful' view expressed by Kraggerud that 'it is almost unthinkable that Horace should have commenced his *Epode*-book with a piece prognosticating Maecenas' involvement in Actium, if he was known in the event to have been absent from the battle'. He concludes that 'it seems likeliest that he was at Actium', although he concedes that

Wistrand may be right in saying that Maecenas was initially at Actium, but soon returned to Rome.¹¹⁰ Le Doze, on the other hand, asserts that we cannot be sure that he was at Actium.¹¹¹ He suggests that Horace (*Odes* 2.12.9–12), Propertius (2.1.34–6) and the first anonymous elegy (1.45–8) may support the fact that he was, but concludes that there is not enough information for a definitive answer. Goldsworthy claims, without supporting evidence, that Octavian had left Maecenas to control Italy and Rome itself.¹¹² Chillet, on the basis of his timing of the conspiracy of Lepidus, places Maecenas in Rome.¹¹³ If, as has been suggested, the elegies were written by Augustus, then we should accept that he was indeed involved in the battle of Philippi, in the fighting against Sextus Pompey and at Actium. The evidence of the other primary sources, Horace, Propertius and Acron, together with the views expressed by du Quesnay, Kraggerud and Watson seem to mount a convincing argument that this was the case. Harrison considers that ‘most scholars now place both Maecenas and Horace at Actium’.¹¹⁴ The argument of this chapter is that the evidence of the first elegy should be followed.

Maecenas as negotiator

Whatever the extent of his military activities, it is the role which he played as a negotiator and as an administrator in Rome and Italy on behalf of Octavian for which he is best known. All scholars accept the fact that Agrippa and Maecenas were the two most important figures in Octavian’s group of advisers.¹¹⁵ Avallone considers him to be a clever calculator, a prudent man of action, a valuable collaborator and an excellent organiser.¹¹⁶ It is Appian in his *Bellum Civile* and Dio in his *Roman History* who provide details of the role that he played during this period. Appian highlights the diplomatic role played by Maecenas on behalf of Octavian. He refers to the role of Maecenas in arranging the marriage of Octavian and Scribonia.¹¹⁷ After the defeat of the Antonians at Perugia in 41 BC, Octavian sent Maecenas to Athens in 40 BC to arrange a marriage with Scribonia, the sister of Sextus Pompey’s father-in-law Scribonius Libo. This marriage was designed to prevent a strengthening of the relationship between Antony and Sextus Pompey.¹¹⁸ It appears that Antony trusted Maecenas. As has been suggested earlier, it is possible that they met during their education on the Bay of Naples. Antony may have found a kindred spirit in Maecenas. The Etruscan background of Maecenas and the fact that he was not a member of the establishment and the senate may well have suggested a form of neutrality which appealed to the negotiating parties. Maecenas’ work as a negotiator in the years 40–37 BC was vital as it brought about a rapprochement between Octavian and Antony and a renewal of the triumvirate. It did much to delay the inevitable conflict between the two triumvirs. This delay was very much to the advantage of Octavian, who was able to strengthen his position in Italy, while Antony dallied with Cleopatra.

Appian also writes that, when Antony had learnt of the defeat of his brother and wife at Perusia in 41–40 BC, he besieged Brundisium, which was held by Octavian's supporters.¹¹⁹ It was the reluctance of the troops on both sides to fight each other which led to negotiations between Antony and Octavian in which Maecenas played a leading part. The agreement was sealed by Antony's marriage to Octavia, Octavian's sister, and the Mediterranean was divided between Antony and Octavian. Antony was to have control of the East, Octavian Italy and the West. The third, and less significant, member of the triumvirate, Lepidus, was to be left in control of Africa. Maecenas' skill as a negotiator can be seen from the fact that the pact of Brundisium (40 BC) was eventually largely in favour of Octavian, since Octavian retained control of the seat of government in Rome and the recruiting grounds of Italy, while Antony preoccupied himself with Cleopatra.¹²⁰ Initially, however, Octavian was left with the major problem of finding land for the veterans of the Philippi campaign, while Antony was free to pursue Julius Caesar's planned invasion of Parthia. A successful invasion would have enhanced Antony's position, but his invasion turned out to be a disaster. Perhaps Maecenas had the prescience to see that Antony was likely to fail, and that Octavian's position would eventually be much better.

In the following year, 39 BC, Maecenas might have been involved again in diplomacy, this time with Sextus Pompey, who had command of a large fleet based in Sicily, from where he attacked the coast of the island and of Italy and interrupted corn supplies, but Plutarch's description mentions only Antony and Octavian conducting a strange negotiation with Sextus Pompey by shouting at each other from separate pontoons.¹²¹ As a result of this meeting at Misenum, Sextus was given the governorship of Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and Achaëa in the hope that this would keep him on-side. He was also promised the consulship for 35 BC. Octavian hoped that this would give him time to prepare to take on Pompey at sea. One wonders whether negotiations through Maecenas would have produced so generous a settlement for Pompey.

In 38 BC the desertion of Sextus Pompey's commander, Menodorus, to Octavian encouraged Octavian to take on Sextus Pompey on his own without the support of his fellow triumvirs, Antony and Lepidus, and at a time when Agrippa was in Gaul. The result was a disastrous defeat near Messana.¹²² It is interesting to note that this signal failure by Octavian seems to have come about because he tried to act alone without the support of his two closest friends, Agrippa and Maecenas. Octavian appealed to Antony for help. Antony came to Brundisium with his fleet, but returned to Greece when he found that Octavian had not come to meet him. Appian writes that Octavian sent Maecenas to Antony to patch up their differences and to seek an alliance.¹²³ According to Southern and Everitt, Maecenas was sent to Athens in late 38 BC to persuade Antony to come to meet Octavian.¹²⁴ Southern cites Appian 5.92 as the authority for this.

Although Agrippa returned successfully from Gaul and began preparing a new fleet on Lake Avernus, Octavian had, through Maecenas, asked Antony for help. Antony came to Brundisium with a fleet in 37 BC and was disappointed to find that Octavian again was not there. He moved on to Tarentum to await Octavian.¹²⁵ At this point Maecenas went ahead to begin negotiations with Antony, who was not in favour of war with Sextus Pompey. His journey to Tarentum in the company of Horace, Virgil and other poets is documented by Horace in *Satires* 1.5.¹²⁶ They were also joined by Fonteius Capito, who represented Antony. Horace comments that Maecenas and Cocceius were sent Octavian as ambassadors, as they were 'experienced in settling disagreements between friends'.¹²⁷ Horace emphasises the civilised, good-natured way in which the group behaved on the journey. It is remarkable that Maecenas was able to persuade a group of the poets under his patronage to accompany him on a long and uncomfortable journey. Horace makes clear how unpleasant such journeys could be. It certainly seems to have affected his health. It suggests that the poets were grateful for the patronage which had so recently started (Virgil perhaps in 41 BC, Horace in 38 BC). The poem also points to the fact that Maecenas, for all the accusations of his love of *otium*, seems to have had boundless energy, as he was able to enjoy playing a ball game while the exhausted Horace and Virgil slept.¹²⁸ Negotiations were successful and led to a renewal of the triumvirate (or really the positions of Antony and Octavian) for a further five years. Antony was to provide 120 ships to Octavian for his war with Sextus Pompey, and Octavian was to provide 20,000 troops for Antony's expedition to Parthia, although he only ever provided 1,000.¹²⁹ As he had done at Brundisium two years earlier, Maecenas showed great skill as a negotiator.¹³⁰ Syme identifies him as 'a diplomat and a statesman'.¹³¹

By 36 BC Agrippa had built a fleet and Octavian had persuaded Lepidus to come with his legions to Sicily to help defeat Sextus Pompey. A fierce storm caused losses in the fleet and delays while ships were repaired. This caused unrest in Rome. Octavian sent Maecenas to Rome to make sure that the situation remained under control.¹³² This was the first of several occasions when Maecenas was to control Rome (and Italy) while Octavian was absent.¹³³ When hostilities were renewed, Octavian suffered another setback at Tauromenium, while Agrippa won a naval victory at Mylae. At this point, Appian writes that Octavian sent Maecenas to Rome for a second time to counter any problems from Pompeians. Perhaps Appian had forgotten that he had previously said that Octavian had done this after the storm, and that Maecenas was sent to Rome only on the first occasion and then remained there. Agrippa followed up his victory at Mylae with a more decisive victory at Naulochus, which brought an end to the threat of Sextus Pompey, who fled to the east. These events again show how much Octavian had reason to be grateful for the efforts of his two close friends. Syme effectively sums up their contributions during this period:

The services of Agrippa, the soldier and engineer, were solid and visible: the other minister Maecenas had been working more quietly and to set purpose. It was his task to guide opinion gently into acceptance of the monarchy, to prepare not merely for the contest that was imminent but for the peace that was to follow victory in the last of all the civil wars.¹³⁴

The primary evidence makes clear that one of Maecenas' greatest skills was that of negotiator. He was clearly able to win the trust of those with whom he negotiated, especially Antony, and by his diplomacy to bring about rapprochement between two opposing sides. It is also clear that he always used his skills as a negotiator to further the cause of Octavian/Augustus. In his focus on the advancement of Octavian he was clearly a hard bargainer, as the outcomes of his negotiations with Antony were favourable to Octavian, yet Antony agreed to these outcomes. There can be no doubt that during the period from 40–37 BC Octavian relied very heavily on Maecenas to negotiate on his behalf and to resolve problems which were often of his own making. Maecenas went wherever Octavian required him to go, always showing his loyalty and doing whatever was necessary to strengthen Octavian's position. Maecenas, as Syme so sensibly points out, was a visionary and could understand what steps were necessary for the future success of Octavian rather than simply a quick fix to an immediate problem.

Maecenas in charge of Rome and Italy

Maecenas is described in the first *Elegy* as Augustus' right hand man (*Caesaris almi dextera* 1.13–4) and guardian of Rome (*Romanae tu vigil urbis eras* 1.14). It states that, although this position gave him great power, he never abused it to harm citizens (1.15–16). It suggests that the fact that Maecenas dressed differently did not make him a less effective guardian of the city, as he kept the streets safe from robbers and murderers (1.25–30). Lines 27–30 suggest that he kept Rome in good order on behalf of Augustus. He did not, however, allow power to go to his head (*omnia cum posses tanto tam carus amicolte sensit nemo posse nocere tamen* 1.15–6 and *maius erat potuisse tamen nec velle triumphos/major res magnis abstinuisse fuit* 1.31–2).

Pliny refers to the use by Maecenas and Agrippa of the signet ring engraved with a sphinx, but adds the fact that it was Maecenas' frog signet ring which caused most alarm among Romans, as it usually accompanied a demand for money for the public purse.¹³⁵ He points out how much power Maecenas and Agrippa were given and the extent to which Augustus trusted them to look after his interests. Tacitus writes that Augustus put Maecenas in charge of everything in Rome and Italy, while he was away during the civil wars, but does not specify his position.¹³⁶ Velleius Paterculus states that Maecenas was in charge of guarding the city (*custodiis praepositus*).¹³⁷ As we have seen, Appian writes that Octavian sent Maecenas to Rome in 36

BC to deal with the unrest in the city after a storm had damaged his fleet.¹³⁸ Appian also writes that Octavian did the same after his reverse at sea against Sextus Pompey near Tauromenium later in 36 BC, when counter-revolutionaries were causing trouble.¹³⁹ Some of them were punished, but Appian does not tell us what form that punishment took. Cassius Dio writes that Maecenas, a member of the *equites*, during the events in Sicily and on many occasions thereafter looked after everything in Rome and the rest of Italy.¹⁴⁰ He also writes that when Octavian suspected that the discharged soldiers would cause trouble for Maecenas, a mere *eques*, who was in charge of Rome and Italy, he sent Agrippa to give support.¹⁴¹ Agrippa was himself originally an *eques*, but entered the senatorial class by becoming consul in 37 BC. Octavian may have thought that he would have more clout, because he was a successful military commander. The passage shows the extent to which Octavian trusted Maecenas (and Agrippa) and thought that Maecenas would be able to amend his letters to the senate to suit the needs of the situation in Rome.¹⁴² To this end he gave Maecenas and Agrippa a signet ring identical to his own, as Pliny asserts.¹⁴³ It is very likely that Maecenas was again in control of Rome in 34 and 33 BC while Octavian and Agrippa were conducting military operations in Illyria and Pannonia, although there is no ancient authority to confirm it. Le Doze argues that Maecenas exercised power in Rome and Italy outside all tradition and that his power was only legitimised by the fact that he was Octavian's friend.¹⁴⁴ Chillet examines the constitutional position of various magistracies during the period of Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus and the position of some equestrians as 'quasi-magistrates'.¹⁴⁵ He concludes that Maecenas was neither *praefectus urbi* nor *praefectus praetorio*, but enjoyed the kind of power that these officials were to hold. His ability to keep control in Rome and Italy is based on his skills as a negotiator and an administrator and his personality as someone who was able to win people over to a cause. In the background, however, is the implied threat of military action by Octavian and Agrippa should the situation in Rome or Italy get out of hand.

Maecenas seems to have kept the peace on the home front during the 30s and early 20s until Octavian returned from Egypt in 29 BC. There is, however, very little information in the ancient authors about Maecenas' activities during this period, apart from the suppression of the plot of the younger Lepidus in 30 BC, which is mentioned very briefly by both Velleius Paterculus and Appian.¹⁴⁶ Velleius Paterculus spent much of his life serving in various military campaigns. He wrote a history of Rome from the fall of Troy to AD 29. Of what survives the fullest cover is from the death of Caesar in 44 BC to the death of Augustus in AD 14. It is strange that he mentions Maecenas only once, and that is with regard to the plot of the younger Lepidus. Velleius makes clear, however, the single-mindedness of Maecenas and his efficiency in crushing Lepidus' plot.¹⁴⁷ Although none of the ancient sources mentions more than the barest details about the plot, it

is very likely that the younger Lepidus and some of his friends were reacting to the treatment given to his father, the triumvir Lepidus, by Octavian, which is described by Cassius Dio.¹⁴⁸ Maecenas' effeminate behaviour was an effective smokescreen, writes Dio. He could, however, endure sleepless nights to achieve vigilance. He prepared for all eventualities and, when he took action, it was swift, effective and caused minimal disruption. Velleius also makes clear the fact that Maecenas was no less valued than Agrippa by Augustus and could have achieved the highest honours, if he had not been unambitious in this regard.¹⁴⁹ Appian tells us that Maecenas had Lepidus arrested and sent to Octavian at Actium, where he was executed.¹⁵⁰

The information in ancient sources about the role of Maecenas during this period is very thin in detail. This perhaps led to the impression in modern scholars that Maecenas was a sinister figure operating in the background. Although the primary evidence is scanty, it has not stopped modern scholars from filling in the blanks. Avallone states that from 36 BC Maecenas had the power of the city prefect and prefect of the Praetorians.¹⁵¹ He argues that Tacitus and Cassius Dio suggest that he had the power of *praefectus urbi* and prefect of the Praetorians from 36–29 BC, but there does not seem to be evidence for this in either author.¹⁵² The only ancient writer to suggest that he was *praefectus urbi* is Porphyry in his *Commentary on Horace*.¹⁵³ He comments on *Carmina* 3.29.25–6 that '*apparet illo tempore Urbis praefectum fuisse Maecenatem*' (it appears that at that time Maecenas was City Prefect). By the time that Porphyry was writing in the early third century the position of City Prefect was long established. He may simply, therefore, have *assumed* that Maecenas held that position. It is quite possible, therefore, that Avallone's suggestion is valid. Syme, with regard to the situation at the end of 32 and beginning of 31, writes that 'Maecenas controlled Rome and Italy, invested with supreme power, but no title'.¹⁵⁴ Byrne has a crucial qualification:

For 36–29 scholars describe Maecenas as unofficial [*sic*] *praefectus urbi*. Lack of clarity of his position added to his power as no one knew how far he could go. Upon Octavian's return to Rome in 29, Maecenas' role became less visible, but he was still active behind the scenes at least until near the end of the 20s.¹⁵⁵

Osgood is even vaguer: 'And when in 36, after Octavian's departure from Rome, disturbances broke out there and in Etruria, the triumvir, off in Sicily, gave Maecenas, not even of senatorial rank, police power to settle the situation'.¹⁵⁶ Blond argues that he played an important role in helping Octavian to vilify Antony in the period from 34 to 31:

With Maecenas as his Goebbels [the comparison is grotesque], Octavian stepped up his hate campaign against Antony, who, in proclaiming Caesarion as Caesar's son by Cleopatra, implied that Caesarion was a

potential usurper. There being no libel laws in Ancient Rome, nor any rules of evidence in courts of law, character assassination was invoked to harness public opinion, to which men in power were so sensitive.¹⁵⁷

Although no ancient author makes the point, it seems very likely that Octavian used Maecenas as a sounding board as he planned for the final showdown with Antony, as Buchan suggests.¹⁵⁸ Syme, too, suggests that this may have been the case, when he writes:

A domestic minister was needed, wise in counsel, sensitive to atmosphere and skilled to guide – and even create – the manifestation of suitable opinions. Maecenas was there.¹⁵⁹

We have to ask how Maecenas exercised his power and how much of what he did was on the express instructions of Octavian. Octavian clearly trusted Maecenas to look after his interests and to make wise decisions on his behalf, as is illustrated by the fact that he was willing for Maecenas and Agrippa to open his letters to the senate, alter them as appropriate and then re-seal them.¹⁶⁰ As Pliny points out, Maecenas seems to have used his own frog signet ring to demand money, which was almost certainly to support Octavian's cause.¹⁶¹ It does suggest, however, that Maecenas was feared for the power which he undoubtedly wielded. If, as Avallone argues, Maecenas had control of the Praetorian Guard, it would have given him the power to suppress any insurrection, such as that alleged of Lepidus, but there is no ancient authority to support this argument, apart from the later writer Porphyry. It seems very unlikely that he held such a position. The fact that there was unrest in Rome, especially among discharged troops after the losses to the fleet against Sextus Pompey, may well suggest to some that Maecenas may have needed to use the Praetorian Guard to put down any resistance, but they would not be supported by hard evidence.

How, then, did he manage to put down any trouble? It may have been that the mere threat of action by the triumvirate was enough. Syme suggest that 'their iron rule of Italy, while it crushed liberty, had at least maintained a semblance of peace'.¹⁶² There is another possibility which is suggested by the simile, which Virgil uses in Book 1 of the *Aeneid* (the first simile in the *Aeneid*) to describe the stilling of the storm by Neptune.¹⁶³ Virgil writes that, when a riot has broken out with violence in the city, if the rioters 'catch sight of a man well-known for his loyalty and service, they fall silent and listen intently, as his words control their passions and soothe their hearts'. The recurring question was what caused Virgil to use this simile here.¹⁶⁴ It seems that it could quite possibly be an oblique reference to his patron, whom he does not mention directly in the *Aeneid*. It is possible that he had either seen himself or heard from eyewitnesses that Maecenas had, by his very presence and words, been able to stop the rioting without the use of force.¹⁶⁵ By the time that Virgil began to write the *Aeneid* (probably

in 31 BC) Maecenas would be well-known for his loyalty and service as a soldier, negotiator and administrator. In the *Aeneid* Virgil introduces the idea of a *pius* leader in the form of his hero Aeneas. *Pietas* was one of the four virtues ascribed to Augustus on the famous *Clupeus Virtutis*. In this simile Virgil points to the *pietas* of the statesman, who stills the anger of the mob, to which is ascribed the word *furor*, the opposing force to *pietas* in the *Aeneid*. It would be very appropriate for Virgil to use *pietas* to describe one of the close advisers and supporters of Augustus. If this suggestion is valid, the first simile in the *Aeneid* is an acknowledgment of the enormous contribution made by Maecenas to the ending of civil wars and the establishment of peace. It is a subtle acknowledgement of his generous patron. Maecenas, in the suggested circumstance, would be aware of the honour being paid to him by Virgil, as probably would others in a contemporary audience.

It is possible that there is other evidence which could support this proposition, even though it relies on what is not said rather than what is. If the riot had been suppressed by force with substantial loss of life, it seems very likely that ancient writers, especially historians would comment on this fact. No ancient writer does this, although Appian (*B Civ.* 5.112 Extract 108) does write that some troublemakers were punished; this could mean, however, by legal process rather than violence. None of the historians who mention the unrest in Rome makes any mention of its suppression by the use of force or violence.¹⁶⁶ The writer of the first *Elegy* specifically states that Maecenas never used his power to harm people (1.15–16). If Maecenas did restore order in Rome by his presence and what he said, this was indeed a remarkable achievement in a period when unrest was usually brought to an end by the use of force. As Le Doze points out, the applause given to Maecenas in the theatre after his recovery from illness seems to be evidence of approval of the unofficial role played by him.¹⁶⁷

Although the young Octavian became part of the ‘Second Triumvirate’ with Mark Antony and Lepidus in 43 BC, it was the ‘third triumvirate’ of Octavian, Agrippa and Maecenas which was to transform the Roman world. It is surprising that scholars have never made more of this fact.¹⁶⁸ So much is made of the accord between Pompey, Caesar and Crassus, given the title ‘First Triumvirate’ by modern scholars, an arrangement which looked after the interests of the three participants rather than those of Rome, and ended in the disastrous civil war from 49 BC onwards. Likewise, the ‘Second Triumvirate’ was formed legislatively in 43 BC between Antony, Octavian and Lepidus to oppose the conspirators who had murdered Caesar. It brought together Octavian, Caesar’s adopted heir, Antony, a distant relative of Caesar, and Lepidus, Caesar’s successor as *pontifex maximus*. Once the conspirators had been defeated, the ‘Second Triumvirate’ began to fracture too, culminating in the defeat of Antony at Actium in 31 BC. From the time of the assassination of Caesar, Octavian joined together with his close friends Agrippa and Maecenas. These three men, in spite of

attempts, especially through the negotiating skills of Maecenas, to reach a lasting agreement between Antony and Octavian, worked in a united way to the end of making Octavian ruler of Rome. They achieved this aim and also brought an end to the series of destructive civil wars of the first century BC. There may have been many at the time and there have certainly been many scholars since who were and are critical of the establishment of the principate. Such critics ignore the fact that the work of this 'third triumvirate' brought an end to a series of destructive civil wars and brought great benefits to Rome and Italy during a period of peace.

From the battle of Actium 31 BC to the beginning of his withdrawal to the background in 23 BC

Although it is likely that Maecenas continued in his role as administrator of Rome and Italy until the return of Octavian in 29 BC, there is a noticeable shift in his role after the defeat of Antony. He certainly never pursued a political career through the *cursus honorum*.¹⁶⁹ It was not in fact normal for members of the equestrian class to pursue such a course. A man, like Cicero, who did, would be regarded as a *novus homo*. None of the ancient sources criticises Maecenas for not pursuing a political career. The fact that he did not let power go to his head was perhaps because he preferred the quiet of the countryside and poetry (*Elegy* 1.33–7), since he was endowed with skills of Apollo and Minerva (1.17–8).¹⁷⁰ The overall picture drawn of Maecenas, however, is that of a reluctant soldier and administrator, but one who did not shirk those responsibilities when they were imposed upon him. He is praised for his loyalty. This explains Augustus' relationship with him. The closeness of this relationship is further attested by Suetonius who writes that Augustus tended to sleep at Maecenas' house when he was ill.¹⁷¹ Buchan suggests that there was much discussion between Octavian, Agrippa and Maecenas in private between 29 BC and the famous constitutional settlement in 27 BC.¹⁷²

This relationship is well illustrated by Cassius Dio in Book 52, in which he presents two opposing views put forward to Augustus by Agrippa and Maecenas on the way in which he should rule Rome and its empire. Dio puts the debate in the year 29 BC. The debate is, of course, imaginary and benefits from hindsight. Millar argues persuasively that the speeches of Agrippa and Maecenas reflect the political situation in Cassius Dio's own time rather than in the Augustan Age, and are used as a political comment.¹⁷³ Fishwick makes important points.¹⁷⁴ He considers that, when Maecenas advises against the building of temples and the erection of gold or silver statues to honour an emperor in his lifetime, he is, in fact, advocating a policy which Augustus himself had initiated. Dio uses this time-honoured practice of emperors to assert that it is the practice which ought to be followed rather than the ruler cult which was established under Commodus and Elagabalus. The end of Agrippa's speech and the beginning of Maecenas' are

missing from manuscripts, but Agrippa's speech amounts to about fifteen pages in the Loeb edition, whereas Maecenas' speech is about thirty-eight pages. This may reflect the way Dio thinks that the blunt soldier Agrippa would have spoken compared to the more urbane Maecenas. Kathryn Lomas states:

Dio's famous debate in which Maecenas urges Augustus to turn Italy into a province with its own governor, administrative structure and army is more a reflection of an issue current in his own day rather than an indication that Augustus seriously considered this. His main administrative concern was the city of Rome, where unrest could have much more profound consequences.¹⁷⁵

Agrippa put forward the view that Augustus should retain a republican or democratic form of government, Maecenas proposed a monarchical style. It seems very unlikely that Agrippa would have proposed a return to the failed republican system.¹⁷⁶ It does seem likely that the wise adviser Maecenas would advocate the approach which Dio attributes to him, but, as Eck states, it is very unlikely that Maecenas could have foreseen how Roman government would develop over the next two centuries.¹⁷⁷ The speech is full of specific detail about how this style of rule could be achieved, which it is not necessary to discuss in this book. It is relevant, however, to include part of Maecenas' conclusion in Appendix A, as it illustrates the way in which later writers viewed the closeness of the relationship between Augustus and Maecenas and the willingness of Maecenas to offer frank advice.¹⁷⁸ Dio has Maecenas offer a philosophical view which would make Augustus an altruistic monarch. Dio comments that Augustus was grateful for the frank advice of both men, but that he preferred to adopt Maecenas' advice, even if not immediately (52.41.1). There may never have been such a debate, but there must certainly have been discussion between Octavian and his closest advisers about the way in which the government of Rome should be run before the Settlement of 27 BC came about. In spite of the fact that Maecenas advised a monarchical style of government, Everitt is sure that he 'always advised against despotic measures'.¹⁷⁹

The conspiracy of Caepio 22 BC

This event is one of the most discussed and controversial of Maecenas' life-time. What conclusions can be reached from the evidence about Maecenas' role in the event and the effect which it had upon him and his relationship with the regime? There are six ancient sources which mention the conspiracy of Fannius Caepio in 22 BC, which involved Murena. Velleius Paterculus names L. Murena as a participant in a plot.¹⁸⁰ Strabo mentions Murena.¹⁸¹ Tacitus, in an attack on the bloodshed during Augustus' rule, includes the execution of 'a Varro', but makes no mention of Maecenas.¹⁸²

The younger Seneca mentions the plot twice, but on neither occasion implicates Maecenas in the events.¹⁸³ In the former, he discusses the clemency of Augustus during the period of his emperorship and gives the example of Cinna. Augustus bemoans the fact that young men are constantly trying to kill him and claims that he does not want to have them put to death just so that he can go on living. To this Livia suggests that, as his severity towards Lepidus, Murena and Caepio has not acted as a deterrent, he should try the opposite by sparing Cinna, advice which Augustus follows successfully. In the latter, he discusses Augustus' desire to be able to retire and to be free from the rigours of public life. Here again Seneca lists the conspiracies of Lepidus, Murena and Caepio as threats to the life of Augustus. In spite of the fact that he mentions the conspiracy of Caepio and Murena twice and this might have provided him with the opportunity to attack Maecenas for his supposed role in betraying the plot to his wife Terentia, he does not. As he is so critical of Maecenas' behaviour and the tempestuous relationship with Terentia elsewhere, one would expect him to make use of this opportunity to denigrate Maecenas, if he believed that there was any truth in such a rumour. Although it is difficult to mount an argument from silence, it does seem very significant that Seneca did not attack Maecenas on this topic when the opportunity arose. This could mean that Seneca did not think that there was any substance in the story. His silence on the issue is interesting and perhaps further proof that there was no truth in the theory that Maecenas fell from favour.

Suetonius states that a problem with Maecenas was that he was unable to appreciate the value of saying nothing, as when he betrayed to his wife Terentia the details of how her brother Murena was involved in Caepio's conspiracy.¹⁸⁴ Yet Suetonius uses this as an example of behaviour which might have annoyed Augustus, but he does this after he has written that 'all the rest [apart from Salvidienus Rufus and Cornelius Gallus] continued to enjoy power and wealth to the end of their lives, each holding a leading place in his own class'. Suetonius does not support, therefore, the idea that the relationship between Maecenas and Augustus soured as a result of his disclosure to Terentia of the plot involving her brother Murena. The second mention of the conspiracy by Suetonius is where he writes that Tiberius brought Caepio to trial for high treason and secured his condemnation.¹⁸⁵ Again he makes no mention of a change in relations between Augustus and Maecenas. Cassius Dio writes that Caepio was the leader of a plot against Augustus after the guilty verdict against Marcus Primus in his trial.¹⁸⁶ He continues that neither Murena's brother C. Proculeius nor his brother-in-law Maecenas could save his life, in spite of the fact that they were highly honoured by Augustus. He, too, makes no suggestion that the relationship between Maecenas and Augustus deteriorated as a result of the conspiracy. There is, therefore, no ancient source which states that this was the case.

The dating, the personnel involved and the details of the conspiracy have been much debated by scholars. Most of the scholarly debate is not relevant

for this book, as the focus of this section of the chapter is on the question of the involvement of Maecenas and the effect that this may have had upon him. It is relevant, however, to acknowledge briefly the scholarly views expressed on these topics. Marcus Primus, as proconsul of Macedonia in 25–24 BC, was put on trial, presumably in late 24 BC or early 23 BC, for attacking Thrace without approval from Rome. At his trial he defended himself by claiming that he had been given authority by either Augustus or Marcellus. Augustus himself appeared at the trial to deny this and Primus was condemned, although some of the jury voted for acquittal. As a result of this verdict, a conspiracy was formed by some of his supporters, led by Fannius Caepio and Murena. The date of the conspiracy given by Cassius Dio of 22 BC is much discussed and disputed by scholars. Badian (1982) argues for the conspiracy to have been in 22 BC. Syme (1986, 384ff.) cautions against this view. Earl (1968, 68–9) and Everitt (2006, 228) argue for the trial in late 24 or early 23, followed by the conspiracy in 23. Clark (2010, 94) argues for 23; Richardson (2012, 103–4) for late 23 or early 22. Potter (2008, 48) follows Badian's date. The most thorough discussion recently is in Barbara Levick (2010, 81–4 and 100–103), although she leaves various possibilities open.

The other major issue is the question of the identity of the Murena involved in the conspiracy. Is he A. Terentius Varro Murena, consul designate for 23 with Augustus, who did not take office because of death or condemnation? Or is he a different Murena? Strabo (14) identifies him as Murena, Velleius Paterculus (2.91.2) as L. Murena, Seneca the Younger (*Sen. Clem.* 1.9.6; *de Brev. Vit.* 4.5) as Murena, Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.10.4) as Varro, Suetonius (*Aug* 19 and *Tib.* 8) as Varro Murena, and Cassius Dio (54.3.3–5) as Licinius Murena. Ancient sources could not, then, agree; nor can modern scholars. Syme (1986, 389) suggests that he is L. Terentius Varro Murena, a cousin of the consul-elect for 23. Dio certainly asserts that the Murena in the conspiracy was the same Murena who defended Primus. Scholars debate the issue, but find it difficult to come to a conclusion. Southern argues that:

It was thought for a long time that A. Varro Murena, consul designate for 23, was involved in a plot with Fannius Caepio to assassinate Augustus, but it seems certain now that the Varro Murena implicated in this mysterious affair was a different man, namely L. Licinius Varro Murena, who defended Marcus Primus and lost his case. Some opprobrium may have fallen upon Maecenas because of his relationship to the family, but it is probably just inflated rumour.¹⁸⁷

This argument would avoid the whole issue of Maecenas' fall from favour being connected to his telling Terentia about her brother Murena. There is a good discussion by Barbara Levick on this issue, although she leaves the identity of Murena open.¹⁸⁸ The identity of Murena as brother-in-law of

Maecenas is important and is discussed in this chapter, as is the question of whether these events led to Maecenas falling from favour. The trial of Primus and the conspiracy of Caepio are important historical issues, as they may have a bearing upon Augustus' decision to resign the consulship in 23. It is also important historically to consider whether the events took place before or after the settlement of 23 by which Augustus received *maius imperium* overseas and *tribunicia potestas* at home. Did the events take place before or after the crisis of his illness in 23 and the death of Marcellus in that year? These are issues for the historians of this period, but are not really relevant to the position of Maecenas. Certainly the years 24–3 were critical in the evolution of the principate, the increase in the powers of Augustus and attempts to secure a line of succession.

This chapter is concerned, however with the life of Maecenas and his relationships with Augustus, Agrippa and the poets under his patronage, not the historical facts of the principate. Did, therefore, these events lead to a cooling in the relationship between Maecenas and Augustus and a diminishing of the role of Maecenas under the principate? Suetonius writes that Maecenas 'betrayed to his wife Terentia the secret details of the discovery of the conspiracy of Murena', but he does not tell us of the relationship of Murena and Terentia.¹⁸⁹ Cassius Dio is our source for the fact that Murena was the brother of Terentia and brother-in-law of Maecenas, but he does not tell us that Maecenas passed on information about the conspiracy to Terentia.¹⁹⁰ Cassius Dio does, in fact, wonder whether the accusation against Murena was true or false, although he comments on Murena's well-known intemperate language towards others. Neither writer, however, makes any comment about any deterioration in the relationship between Maecenas and Augustus as a result of the conspiracy, and a subsequent fall from favour for Maecenas. It seems likely that some scholars have come to the conclusion that he fell from favour because they misunderstand the passage in Suetonius.¹⁹¹ In that passage Suetonius describes the impatience of Agrippa and the inability of Maecenas to keep his mouth shut. Suetonius then gives an example of each. Agrippa withdrew to Mytilene because he detected coolness in Augustus' attitude towards him after Augustus preferred Marcellus: Maecenas' inability to keep quiet is illustrated by the fact that he disclosed details of Murena's conspiracy to his wife Terentia.¹⁹² The cooling of relations does not apply to Maecenas, but to Agrippa's perceived view of Augustus' attitude towards himself. In the Latin, there is a clear contrast between *ille* ('the former' i.e. Agrippa) and *hic* ('the latter' i.e. Maecenas). Nero, according to Tacitus, when rejecting Seneca's plea to be allowed to retire, said that Augustus, because of his own age and status, could afford to let Maecenas retire.¹⁹³ He added that Augustus did not deprive him of the rewards which his efforts had deserved. This passage may well reflect Tacitus' view of the reason why Maecenas faded into the background. Tacitus wrote that Maecenas' friendship with Augustus was one of appearance rather than reality. He suggests that the growing apart

may have been because either Augustus had given all that he could or Maecenas had all that he wanted.¹⁹⁴ One could suggest that it was perhaps Maecenas who had given all that he could, as he had certainly devoted his life to the service of Augustus. Cassius Dio does comment that Augustus 'did not treat Maecenas in the same way because of Maecenas' wife', but this may relate to the rumour that Augustus was having an affair with Terentia rather than to anything to do with Murena.¹⁹⁵ It can be seen, therefore, that these ancient sources do not support the view that Maecenas fell from favour as a result of the conspiracy of Caepio. It is unfortunate that the summaries of Livy's books for the years 24–22 BC, which might throw light on the issue, are no longer in existence.

It is necessary to consider the differing views expressed by scholars on this issue and their reasons for holding those views. Are their views supported by the available ancient texts? Or are they perhaps jumping to conclusions? It seems quite possible that some modern scholars put forward the theory that Maecenas fell from favour as a result of the conspiracy of Caepio as they are trying to deduce a reason for the fact that Maecenas faded into the background from this time onwards, and perhaps, from a misunderstanding of what Suetonius wrote, come to the conclusion that it is a result of the conspiracy of Caepio.¹⁹⁶ They perhaps add to Suetonius' statement the comments made by Cassius Dio about the alleged relationship between Augustus and Terentia.¹⁹⁷ These comments seem, however, to be confined to a possible adulterous relationship between Augustus and Terentia rather than to the events surrounding the conspiracy of Caepio. There are other modern scholars, however, who do not say that Maecenas fell from favour.¹⁹⁸ There is no clear information about the way in which Maecenas began to be less influential. Levi argues that 'Maecenas is supposed to have experienced coldness from Augustus after that [the conspiracy], but nothing confirms it and we shall see that Horace's behaviour is an argument against it'.¹⁹⁹

Syme²⁰⁰ states 'In the secret conflicts in the entourage of an autocrat thought moribund, Marcus Agrippa came out with power enhanced as well as authority; and Caesar's minister Maecenas begins to recede, the brother-in-law of Murena'. Earl writes that:

No lesser a personage than Maecenas made a fatal mistake when he told Terentia of her brother's danger. The breach of confidence was never forgiven. After 23 B.C. Maecenas declined in importance and influence with Augustus.²⁰¹

Everitt agrees that Maecenas' relationship with Augustus cooled as a result of the leaking of this information. He considers that, although they remained on 'reasonable terms', Maecenas was no longer a 'full member of the inner circle'.²⁰²

The opposing argument of Williams, however, is very persuasive on this matter.²⁰³ He says 'It has become a cliché of Augustan historiography that after 23 BC Maecenas fell from favor with Augustus'.

He considers that this idea is linked to the wider one of ‘a power struggle between Agrippa and Maecenas’, but has no basis in fact, because ‘the evidence for any repudiation of Maecenas [e.g. Suetonius *Augustus* 66.3] is unreliable’.²⁰⁴ He wonders why any credence should be given to Suetonius’ assertion, because the context of it (the fall of Cornelius Gallus) has been ignored, as Suetonius continues²⁰⁵:

The rest of his friends, men of the highest rank in each order, flourished to the end of their lives in influence and wealth, even despite giving causes for offense.²⁰⁶

The most telling point of Williams’ argument follows. He argues that the passing of information through Terentia to Murena caused him to flee, and, thereby, admit his guilt so that putting him to death, when caught, would be justified. He claims that ‘Maecenas did not miscalculate – nor did Augustus. A public trial and deliberate infliction of a death penalty on a prominent aristocrat could only be deeply embarrassing. Maecenas’ action avoided that’.²⁰⁷

It is possible, perhaps, that the records to which Suetonius had access made reference to the end of Murena and said that he had fled before his death because Maecenas had tipped-off Terentia. Suetonius perhaps misconstrued this note and Dio slavishly followed him. Williams goes on to say that ‘There is, on the other hand, much evidence that friendship continued as close as ever between Maecenas and Augustus after 23 BC’.²⁰⁸ He cites the fact that Augustus dedicated his memoirs to Maecenas and Agrippa (c22 BC) (confirmed by Plutarch *Comp. Dem. Cic.* 3.1: Extract 74), that about 17 BC Porcius Latro declaimed before Augustus, Agrippa and Maecenas (Seneca *Controv.* 2.4.12–13), that in 12 BC Augustus intervened in a court case involving Maecenas (Dio 54.30.4) and that Augustus was distressed at Maecenas’ death.²⁰⁹ He concludes ‘The evidence suggesting that Maecenas’ relationship with Augustus continued unchanged through 23 BC and on to 8 BC is far more circumstantial than evidence for a fall from favor’.²¹⁰ His argument is supported by what Tacitus has Nero say to Seneca in *Annals* 14.55, as we have seen. Yet, as Le Doze argues, the marriage of Agrippa and Julia in 21 BC suggests that Maecenas’ advice to Augustus (Cassius Dio 54.6.5–6) was followed.²¹¹

Williams had initially been persuaded by Syme to argue that a further sign of Maecenas’ fall from favour was that Augustus superseded Maecenas as patron of the arts.²¹² He concedes that this view must be wrong and offers an alternative explanation for the transfer of patronage from Maecenas to Augustus. He points out that Maecenas’ patronage had always been for the benefit of Augustus and his image and that when the time was right Augustus would take over that patronage. He argues that that time was 18 BC when Augustus was firmly established in his rule. He concludes that a ‘new type of literary patronage’ was the idea from the start. This involved Maecenas rather than Augustus gathering a group of poets to ‘support a

political programme', as it was appropriate for Augustus to remain in the background rather than to emphasise the strength of his political position. At the appropriate time Augustus would assume control.²¹³ This argument is very persuasive.²¹⁴ It does much to destroy the myth of Maecenas' fall from favour. This view is supported by Richardson who believes that there is no real evidence of a serious rift between them, and Levick who writes that 'the cooling has convincingly been denied in modern times'.²¹⁵ Harrison considers that 'The idea that Maecenas fell from grace in connection with a plot against Augustus at the end of the 20s is now believed by few'.²¹⁶ Le Doze claims that Maecenas did not allow the problem concerning Terentia to affect his friendship with the emperor.²¹⁷ Chillet also casts doubt upon the account of Cassius Dio of a relationship between Augustus and Terentia.²¹⁸ Perhaps it is time to put the idea of a fall from favour to bed for once and for all.

There are, however, other historical facts which help to explain the change in Maecenas' position from 23 BC. First, Augustus, now forty, was well established as *princeps*, and was no longer a young man needing help to establish his right to the top position. This is confirmed by Tacitus (*Annals* 14.55), where he refers to Nero's rejection of Seneca's plea to be allowed to retire and states that Augustus had the authority necessary to guarantee any gift which he made. Augustus, with the Settlement of 27 BC and with his changes to qualifications for the senate and its numbers, his insistence on senators attending meetings and the importance which he attributed to their role, removed the need for reliance on the statesmanship of Maecenas. Maecenas had, of course, sidelined himself from this process by his insistence on remaining an *eques*. Le Doze considers his equestrian status to be a handicap after 29 BC.²¹⁹ Chillet, on the other hand, considers his decision to remain an *eques* to be an obvious decision, because his descent from Etruscan royalty and his equestrian status gave him enough prestige in Rome and Italy without having to become a *novus homo* in the senate.²²⁰ On the other hand, Agrippa was a member of the senate, was now linked to Augustus by marriage to Julia, had fathered two sons, Gaius and Lucius, whom Augustus adopted and brought up as if they were his own sons, and was still an indispensable military commander (in the East 23–21, Gaul and Spain 20–19, and the East again 16–13). When Augustus fell seriously ill in 23 BC, he gave his signet ring to Agrippa as a sign that he wanted Agrippa to act as regent for his grandsons, as he regarded the young Marcellus to be too young to succeed. The death of Marcellus at the end of 23 BC, for the time being, left Agrippa as the logical choice to act as regent. In 18 BC Agrippa was granted the same *tribunicia potestas* that Augustus held. If there was more to the antagonism between Agrippa and Maecenas than merely their very different characters,²²¹ it is possible that Agrippa tried to weaken Maecenas' influence, although no ancient text provides evidence that this was the case. It is also possible that Augustus, in an attempt to humour the prickly Agrippa, who, for example, withdrew to

Mytilene in 23 BC, sidelined Maecenas. The evidence put forward by Williams, however, negates this proposition.²²² Although Augustus was away from Rome (in Greece and Asia 22–19 and Gaul 16–13), his rule was generally not under threat, as it had been in the 30s, and Rome and Italy were not beset with the same kind of difficulties which there had been prior to 23 BC. Tiberius and Drusus were rising in prominence as Augustus began to look at ways of establishing a dynasty. In 38 BC Augustus had married their mother Livia. By all accounts she was a very accomplished woman and may well have been a good adviser to the *princeps* and this would have lessened any need that Augustus had of the counsel of Maecenas.²²³ Southern supports such a view: ‘After 23, he played little part in government, perhaps because his diplomacy and tact were no longer needed, or because he wished to enjoy life after the initial turmoil’.²²⁴ Of Maecenas’ coterie of poets Virgil had died in 19 BC and Propertius at some time after 16 BC and only Horace (of the poets important to us) was still alive. Horace was clearly a great favourite with Augustus; he was also Maecenas’ closest friend. It would seem probable, therefore, that Augustus and Maecenas remained close friends. Maecenas was now able to live a life of leisure, since Augustus had achieved all that Maecenas hoped for him. Augustus indulged him as he had deserved it: Maecenas was not retiring rashly. It was Augustus’ judgment that he had deserved his life of leisure.

In conclusion, it must be said that the lack of primary evidence leaves the question unresolved. In the absence of such evidence, it is unwise to make claims about a fall from favour which cannot be substantiated. It is much wiser to accept Williams’ case that the evidence which we do have points more to a continuing friendship between Maecenas and Augustus, even though Maecenas retired from the spotlight, and to accept the evidence of historical events during this period. Horace, who wrote his *Carmina* between 30 and 23 BC, in 3.29 tells Maecenas that it is time to rest from his heavy workload, as he ‘cares about what constitution is best for the state and in his anxiety for the city fears for the trouble being prepared by the Chinese, the Bactrians once ruled by Cyrus and the troublesome area round the river Don’. Horace tells him to ‘abandon his disagreeable pile of work that almost touches the clouds on high’. This suggests that Maecenas is still heavily involved in matters of state during this period. In 20 or 19 Maecenas urged him to resume his production of lyric poetry (*Epist.* 1.1.1–11). He is still exercising his influence as patron of the poet, even if his role within the regime was diminishing at this time.

Maecenas’ relations with Agrippa

There can be no doubting the significance of Maecenas’ role in helping Octavian to the principate and in the early years of his rule, together with the emperor’s other chief supporter, M. Vipsanius Agrippa. Agrippa was very different from Maecenas. He was a very accomplished military commander,

responsible for most of the victories of Octavian/Augustus. He was clearly ambitious and wanted to cast aside his humble Etruscan origins, as is evidenced by his reluctance to be referred to as Vipsanius, because his family name was obscure, whereas Maecenas, whose family name was well known, revelled in his Etruscan heritage.²²⁵ The contrast between him and Maecenas could not be clearer as Reinhold so aptly describes.²²⁶ Yet he and Maecenas worked together in different roles from 44–31 to ensure that Octavian became the next ruler of Rome. The only hint of animosity in all the extracts which mention Maecenas is in Suetonius who suggests that Agrippa is critical of Virgil's style and blames Maecenas for his influence on him.²²⁷ Cassius Dio, writing in the early third century AD, but perhaps with access to historical material which we no longer have, especially Livy, produces imaginary advice from these two to Augustus in 29 BC, as we have seen.²²⁸ Agrippa warns him against becoming a monarch, lest he suffer the same fate as Julius Caesar. Maecenas advises that he should become monarch in all but name. He should not allow images of himself or temples in his honour, but should build images in the hearts of men. He should appoint magistrates and appear to listen to their advice in Rome. He should, however, keep absolute control of the army and the provinces. This, and other advice he offers, was largely adopted by Augustus in subsequent years. Of course, Dio had the benefit of hindsight and could couch the advice in the light of history. It is interesting that Dio ends the passage with a statement that Agrippa enthusiastically adopted the view put forward by Maecenas, as if the ideas had been his own. This is hardly the action of someone who allegedly disliked Maecenas. It suggests much more that according to Dio there was a close-knit and lasting relationship between Augustus, Agrippa and Maecenas, and that both Agrippa and Maecenas could put aside their personal feelings and interests so that they could further the advance of Augustus and his regime. The evidence from ancient authors certainly supports the view that the three worked harmoniously and with single-minded purpose to establish the Augustan regime.

Why, then, do some scholars see their relationship as poisonous? Syme identifies an important distinction between the two, when discussing what he considers to be the time of their first meeting at Apollonia.

‘Before long a very different character turns up, the Etruscan magnate C. Maecenas, a diplomat and a statesman, an artist and a voluptuary’.²²⁹

It may well be that Syme is responsible for the common view held by scholars that the relationship between the two was poisonous, as he is held in high esteem by Augustan scholars. He claims that ‘there was no love lost’ between the two. He then delivers a scathing assessment of Maecenas – ‘the Roman [Agrippa – he ignores Agrippa's Etruscan origins!] loathed the effeminate and sinister descendant of Etruscan kings’, ‘the vices in which his tortured inconstant soul found refuge’, ‘he [Agrippa] despised the vile epicure’:

The way of his life, like the fantastical conceits of his verse, must have been highly distasteful to Augustus as to Agrippa. Augustus bore with the vices of his minister for the memory of his services and the sake of his counsel.²³⁰

Although Syme acknowledges the role of Maecenas as statesman and negotiator, as we have seen, and his role as patron of poets, as we shall see, he makes clear his strong dislike of Maecenas' character. This chapter argues that this jaundiced view is mistaken.

Potter, too, while drawing attention to contrasts between the two ('a study in opposites') asserts:

It was common knowledge that Agrippa and Maecenas disliked each other, but the very fact that the emperor Augustus' regime could accommodate two such contrasting figures attested to its collective nature, further dispelling fears that Augustus was imposing monarchical rule.²³¹

Potter does not justify his statement that 'it was common knowledge that Agrippa and Maecenas disliked each other'. Perhaps he is influenced by the views of Syme. The ancient authors do not support this view. Everitt seems to suffer from the same mistaken view as Potter, since he believes that 'little love was lost between them'.²³² He claims that 'Agrippa could not stand Maecenas' exotic and effeminate manners'.²³³ Critics have invented the idea that Agrippa and Maecenas disliked each other, without any ancient evidence to support that claim. Syme's claim that Agrippa 'loathed' Maecenas is based on a view that differences in the lifestyles of the two must mean that they cannot stand each other. He accentuates the minor faults found in Maecenas' character and lifestyle by some ancient writers to reach a conclusion which seems unsustainable. Potter is right, however, to say that there was a 'collective nature' to the administration of the Augustan regime. Agrippa, a man with an Etruscan family heritage, Augustus' classmate from Velitrae in the Alban Hills, was first and foremost a soldier and the architect of several of Augustus' victories. The roles and characters of Maecenas and Agrippa may have been entirely different, but this does not mean that they were hostile to each other. It is clear that Augustus would not have succeeded without either of them. It does not support the view of Armstrong who states:

In 23 BC the regime was approaching a crisis: Maecenas' circle was feeling threatened by what would shortly be the triumph of his rival for second place in the regime, Agrippa, after the death the next year of Augustus' first choice for his successor, his nephew Marcellus... Maecenas becomes more retired in relation to Agrippa and his and Livia's family, the new heirs of the regime.²³⁴

There is simply no ancient evidence to support the idea that Maecenas had any ambition to rise to power if Augustus predeceased him. The idea that there was antagonism between Maecenas and Agrippa is based on their respective characters and the events of 23 BC, but, very significantly, there is no ancient text which offers evidence of animosity between Maecenas and Agrippa.²³⁵ It is difficult to see how scholars made such deductions, given the lack of primary evidence.

Maecenas as patron of poets

It is universally acknowledged that one of the most important aspects of Maecenas' life was his role as a literary patron. The next three chapters are devoted to a discussion of his relationships with Virgil, Horace and Propertius, as each deserves a much longer discussion than is possible here without interrupting the narrative of his life. Each chapter examines those relationships, looks for influence of Maecenas on their work and analyses their engagement with the Augustan regime. Within this chapter, the biography of Maecenas, it is sufficient to give an outline of the importance of his role as patron. The whole question of patronage is discussed here, but is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on Horace (Chapter 3), as there is so much more evidence about the relationship between Maecenas and Horace than there is about his relationship with Virgil and Propertius.

Maecenas was a man of culture with a strong interest in the work of poets. He became a very notable patron of the arts.²³⁶ The Augustan Age was to prove, thanks largely to Maecenas, to be a great period of literary patronage, the first for Rome. Syme considers that: 'For the promotion of literary talent and the artistic dissemination of opinion favourable to the government, Maecenas knew no peer and left no successor'.²³⁷ That is not to say that Maecenas was the first literary patron in Rome. Wealthy and important men like the Scipios had been patrons of poets like Ennius. These earlier patrons had generally expected that their poets would write poetry to glorify their achievements, for the most part in military campaigns. There is no evidence that Maecenas expected his poets to glorify his achievements, limited as they were. It is true, however, that both Horace and Propertius briefly allude to achievements for which Maecenas should be praised.²³⁸ Highet summarises the relationship of Maecenas as literary patron and his poets with great insight:

It [being one of the friends of a rich Roman gentleman at that time] implied that the richer man would do all he could to further his new friend's career; advise him on personal problems; raise his whole standard of living; listen sympathetically to his poems if he wrote; take him into his confidence on state affairs, as far as possible; relieve his financial difficulties, within reason; both stimulate his ambition and show

him how to satisfy it.... It looks like a good way of helping a young writer without killing his initiative and originality.²³⁹

Maecenas seems to have wanted initially to gather together poets of talent who would make Rome the literary capital of the world. After Actium, he saw the potential for these poets to strengthen the new regime by writing poetry which was complimentary towards it. He hoped, too, that they would honour his close friend, the new emperor, Augustus. Sørensen identifies a particular purpose for encouraging poetry at that time:

So it was not surprising that Augustus, with his friend Maecenas acting as a personified art foundation, carried out a conscious cultural policy and tried to involve poets in keeping people's spirits and morale high, something which Horace did in his odes in praise of ancient Roman virtues.²⁴⁰

He also suggests here another way of considering the role played by Maecenas. Roman argues that, although Maecenas had begun to gather a group of poets in the 30s, it was as a result of the battle of Actium that there developed a more obvious tension between the poets' desire for autonomy and the need to support the regime.²⁴¹ He considers that up to this point Maecenas, as literary patron, acted as a buffer between his poets and the demands of the regime, and may even have encouraged their independent unwillingness to be involved in Augustan themes. He suggests that:

Maecenas' role as mediator between poets and emperor and his uniquely unconstraining style of patronage functioned well in this transitional period when the sight of a flock of court poets directly attached to Augustus himself might have offended the sensibilities of some aristocratic Romans.²⁴²

Both Sørensen and Roman make important points about the role of Maecenas as literary patron.

Maecenas was patron of Virgil, Varius Rufus, Horace and Propertius, major literary figures of the Augustan age, and the poets Aemilius Macer, Aristius Fuscus, Domitius Marsus, Fundanius, Melissus, Plotius Tucca, Quintilius Varus, Valgius Rufus, and Viscus, about any of whom little is known.²⁴³ He established on the Esquiline what might be termed a 'cultural centre'. Here he built his own substantial house and his famous gardens outside the Servian wall. Virgil, Horace and Propertius had houses nearby. It is highly likely that other members of the 'circle' also lived there. Compared to other parts of the city this area would be peaceful and an ideal atmosphere for the creative work of the poets. The close proximity of members of the 'circle' would have provided the opportunities for cross-fertilization and encouragement for each other's work. It is no wonder that the aspiring poet of Horace's *Satire* 1.9 wants an introduction to Maecenas.

There are some interesting, common features in the three main members of the circle whose works survive today – Virgil, Horace and Propertius.²⁴⁴ Although they were Roman citizens, they were not born in Rome. Virgil came from the area around Mantua in what had until comparatively recently been Cisalpine Gaul; Horace came from Venusia on the edge of Apulia in the south; Propertius was born at Assisi in Umbria on the border of Etruria. Their families all held land in their respective homelands and all had been dispossessed of their land for various reasons as a result of the civil wars. Each poet had reasons for being unfavourable in his views of the regime, yet was persuaded to lend his support to it. Apart from the fact that Maecenas wanted to support their poetic skills and to try to use them to enhance the new regime, his financial support in terms of accommodation and income was substantial. Perhaps this support was one way in which Maecenas thought that he could compensate the poets for the losses which they and their families had suffered. As Roman points out, the early poetry of this group was produced against the backdrop of political turmoil.²⁴⁵ While he acknowledges the change in Maecenas' role as literary patron after Actium, he considers that:

The public importance of poetry was thus not simply invented by Augustus and Maecenas; they capitalized on the emerging value and cultural authority of the new poetry, which combined specialized expertise with the social prestige of comparatively elite authors.²⁴⁶

Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro 70–19 BC), although perhaps the most important recipient of Maecenas' patronage, refers to him only four times, once at the start of each of the four books of the *Georgics*.²⁴⁷ In line 2 of *Georgic* 1, he asks Maecenas questions about husbandry which he himself will answer in the four books of the *Georgics*.²⁴⁸ By doing so he sets out his aims in writing the *Georgics*. In lines 40–2 he asks Augustus to look upon his work with favour. In the early lines of each subsequent book he asks for Maecenas' blessing and support for the work which he is undertaking.²⁴⁹ Suetonius confirms that the *Georgics* were dedicated to Maecenas.²⁵⁰ Suetonius also notes that Maecenas helped Virgil to read the *Georgics* to Augustus over a period of four days not long after the battle of Actium.²⁵¹ There is no praise of Maecenas, nor any acknowledgement of the debt owed for his patronage, except to say that Maecenas was most responsible for his success (*Georgic* 2.40), nor any statement of the nature of their relationship, matters which are evident in the works of Horace and Propertius. This chapter has already suggested that there may have been a subtle dedication of the *Aeneid* to Maecenas in the first simile of Book 1 of the epic. Virgil did, however, acknowledge Maecenas in his will.²⁵² The influence which Maecenas and the Etruscan world may have had upon Virgil is discussed in the next chapter.²⁵³ Osgood states that Horace *Satires* 1.6. 54–5 shows that Maecenas had become connected with Virgil by 38 BC and argues that it

was the *Eclogues* (from which Maecenas is absent) which brought Virgil to his attention.²⁵⁴ As Virgil and Maecenas were almost the same age and were educated in Rome, it is very likely that they were acquainted from as early as 53 BC, as members of the equestrian class, to which both belonged, were likely to attend a particular school. Although Virgil does not have as much to say about Maecenas as Horace and Propertius, he has much more to say about the Etruscans than the other two, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Maecenas is clearly a very strong supporter of Virgil and his work. The elder Seneca twice writes that Maecenas defended Virgil from criticism.²⁵⁵ Seneca also writes that Fuscus, another poet of Maecenas' circle, borrowed ideas from Virgil, as he hoped that this would impress Maecenas.²⁵⁶

Varius (Lucius Varius Rufus c70–15 BC) was clearly one of the significant poets in Maecenas' circle, as is made clear by the anonymous *Laus Pisonis*, which names him together with Virgil and Horace.²⁵⁷ Martial, too, states that Horace, Varius and Virgil were significant members of Maecenas' circle.²⁵⁸ It is likely from his dates that he was one of the first poets to come under Maecenas' patronage. We know that he and Virgil introduced Horace to Maecenas.²⁵⁹ There is evidence of the range of works which he produced, but sadly only a very few fragments of his work survive from a didactic poem *de Morte*, written in the Epicurean tradition. Both Virgil and Horace state that this brought him fame as an epic poet in the late 40s BC.²⁶⁰ Macrobius attests to his influence on Virgil by citing four examples, which are, of course, some of the fragments of his *de Morte* which survive.²⁶¹ Horace suggests him as a possible panegyrist for Agrippa.²⁶² His tragedy *Thyestes* was performed at the games put on in 29 BC to celebrate the victory at Actium in 31 BC. Quintilian, Tacitus and Martial all praise his work as the equal of Greek tragedies.²⁶³ He was clearly a leader in the fashion at the time of producing plays. His patron Maecenas wrote a *Prometheus*. Seneca the Younger may well have been influenced by Varius when he wrote his own *Thyestes* under Nero, just as Varius may have been influenced by Pacuvius who wrote a *Thyestes* in the first half of the second century BC. Rüpke sums up his contribution: 'With philosophically-motivated focus on genres of the highest style, Varius decisively influenced Augustan classicism'.²⁶⁴ After Virgil's death in 19 BC he, together with Tucca, prepared the *Aeneid* for publication, disregarding Virgil's wish that the work should be destroyed. Although he is acknowledged as an early and important member of Maecenas' circle of poets, this is the limit of what can be said about his life and his works.

Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus 65–8 BC) gained great benefit from the patronage of Maecenas, who bought him the farm in the Sabine Hills near Tivoli which he loved so much.²⁶⁵ In *Satires*.1.6.56–62 Horace tells how he became friends with Virgil and the tragedian Varius Rufus, who introduced him in turn to their patron Maecenas.²⁶⁶ His initial meeting was almost an interrogation by Maecenas, but eight months later (a surprisingly

long interval, although perhaps an indication of how busy Maecenas was with affairs of state at the time) Horace was invited by Maecenas to join his circle of friends. Osgood considers that the relationship seems like that of patron and client.²⁶⁷ Maecenas did not, however, look down on Horace – he was not interested in Horace's background, but in his character and his ability, because 'Maecenas recognises that in the distant past even the *nobiles* were nobodies'.²⁶⁸ Horace's references to Maecenas in his *Carmina* and *Epodes* make clear to us the closeness of their relationship and its importance to Horace, none more so than *Carmen* 2.17.²⁶⁹ In this ode he makes it clear that Maecenas is the most important person in his life and that he has no wish to go on living if Maecenas dies before him. This may seem to be hyperbole, but he did die within two months of Maecenas and was buried near to him on the Esquiline, as Suetonius tells us.²⁷⁰ In *Carmen* 1.1 he states that Maecenas' approval and praise of his poetry will send him to seventh heaven (*quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres, / sublimi feriam sidera vertice*, 1.1.35–6).²⁷¹ He considers Maecenas to be the glory of the *equites* (*Maecenas, equitum decus*, *Carmen* 3.16.20) and addresses him as a descendant of Etruscan kings (*Tyrrhena regum progenies*, *Carmen* 3.29.1).²⁷² In the latter ode, which is addressed to Maecenas, he shows concern for Maecenas' heavy workload in Rome and urges him to visit Horace's Sabine farm to rest, share the simple life and relax away from the cares of the city and the empire.²⁷³ In lines 3–4 of *Epode* 1, which is dedicated to Maecenas, he writes that Maecenas is willing to endure whatever dangers Augustus faces.²⁷⁴ Maecenas' loyalty to Augustus is reflected in Horace's loyalty to Maecenas. The relationship between Maecenas and Horace is mutual as Suetonius makes clear. 'If I don't love you, Horace, more than my own life, may your friend look no better than a skinny ragdoll!'²⁷⁵

It is worth remembering that only five years earlier Horace had fought for Brutus against Octavian and Antony. His family had also been dispossessed of their land and property at Venusia and almost certainly lost their lives. Yet Horace was prepared to throw in his lot with the victors and was granted a pardon. He became a loyal friend and supporter of both Maecenas and Augustus. It is no surprise, therefore, that Augustus commissioned him to write the *Centennial Hymn* for the Secular Games of 17 BC. In *Epode* 9 there is clear propaganda expressed for the new regime in the relief felt at the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra.²⁷⁶ Horace concentrates, naturally, on the positive nature of Maecenas. In *Satires* 1.6.49–52 Horace writes that he may be open to two charges, one of usurping the military tribunate under Brutus, the other of having too close a relationship with Maecenas.²⁷⁷ He lets the first criticism slide, but refutes the second because Maecenas scrupulously avoids men with even a whiff of ambition and their relationship can in no way be the result of insincere social climbing. It seems to be more sensible to be convinced by the evidence of a man who knew him intimately than by the claims of someone, such as Seneca, who never met him and had to rely upon the hearsay evidence of others.

There is a second source for the relationship between Horace and Maecenas. The historical biographer Suetonius (c. AD 69–140) wrote *De Viris Illustribus*, the greater part of which has been lost. It is now generally accepted that *Vita Horati* was one of the lives in that work. Although it is only about seventy lines long, it does provide some important information about Horace and his relationship with both Maecenas and Augustus. It relates the fact that he was pardoned after participating on the side of Brutus at Philippi and became a quaestor's clerk in Rome. He soon won the favour of Maecenas and then Augustus. Eventually he had a prominent place among the friends of both. When Augustus offered him a position as a personal secretary, Horace declined it because he wished to go on writing poetry. Augustus took the refusal in good heart and there was no loss of friendship. We learn of the closeness of the relationship with Maecenas. We learn too about Horace's death and burial. Important as all these details are for giving us a picture of Horace's life, there is not as much information on the relationship with Maecenas or his patronage in Suetonius as can be gained from reading Horace's own poetry.

Propertius (Sextus Propertius c57–c15 BC) also shows high regard for his patron, when he describes him as the hope and envy of his youth and a source of glory to him (*Maecenas, nostrae spes invidiosa iuventae, let vitae et morti gloria iusta meae*, Elegy 2.1.73–4).²⁷⁸ Elegy 3.9 is directed to Maecenas.²⁷⁹ In it Propertius, too, acknowledges Maecenas' background as a member of the equestrian order descended from Etruscan kings (*Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum*, 3.9.1).²⁸⁰ He honours his character in 3.9.21–32, where he admits that he has adopted Maecenas' principles for living and wants to surpass him. He points out that Maecenas could have fulfilled with distinction any position which he was given, but preferred to live a life in the background.²⁸¹ He reinforces the picture drawn by the anonymous elegy of a man who does not let power go to his head, but prefers a more modest life. He ends the elegy in lines 57–60 with an acknowledgement of the importance of Maecenas' patronage to him.²⁸²

Yet Propertius' poems are for the most part set in a world which avoids Rome, politics and the principate.²⁸³ Only in poems 21 and 22 do we find any mention of the emperor in Book 1, but not in a flattering way, as he says that his friend Gallus perished at the hands of unknown people when he had escaped through Octavian's encircling soldiers. Propertius' home country round Perugia was devastated by the civil war. In Book 2 he admits that Maecenas has urged him to write poetry in praise of Augustus, but says that he is a love poet and any poem which he wrote about Augustus would have to record the ruin caused by Octavian in Etruria (2.1.27ff).²⁸⁴ In 2.34.61–6 he expresses his delight that it is Virgil who will write the poem in praise of Augustus. It is only in the fourth book of his elegies that he becomes more serious in poems in praise of Rome and in 4.6 praises the achievements of Octavian at Actium, although under the guise of Apollo's role in securing the victory, and in the east. He may have belonged under

the patronage of Maecenas, but he remained an independent soul, reluctant to indulge Maecenas and the emperor.

The works of Virgil, Horace and Propertius survive, although sadly not those of Varius, and give us a snapshot of the brilliance of the literary world of the Augustan Age in the last part of the first century BC. There can be no doubt that all these poets received significant support from their patron Maecenas, which allowed them to flourish and concentrate on their literary works. Two later poets, Martial and Juvenal, acknowledge the generosity of his patronage of the Augustan poets and wish that such patrons existed in their own time.²⁸⁵ The unknown poet of *Laus Pisonis* praises Maecenas' support for Virgil, Varius and Horace, whose contributions were innovative and so important to the development of Roman literature.²⁸⁶ This is the most effusive praise of his patronage from a source outside the group of poets. Maecenas had the happy knack of drawing to him poets of great quality and of supporting their work. Although he may have wanted to use their voices to support the Augustan regime, there is no evidence that they were compelled to do so. Roman, following Cairns, argues that it unlikely that Maecenas demanded epic from all the poets or that their poetry was 'ridiculing their patrons', since the poets were merely establishing 'artistic integrity'.²⁸⁷ Maecenas did persuade Virgil to write the *Georgics* and, possibly, the *Aeneid*, but neither is a blatant piece of propaganda. Horace relied on his friendship with Maecenas to assert his poetic independence. When Propertius showed his reluctance, he was not cajoled into writing something which he did not want to write. Maecenas' patronage of his circle of poets was one of the most significant features of the Augustan age. He used his wealth as a true benefactor of the arts.

Griffin identifies Maecenas' skills as having the ability to find talented poets and the patience to develop them individually in spite of his 'old-fashioned taste' and lack of poetic skill. He may, however, be overstating the position when he claims that:

'Virgil, Horace and Propertius, unpromising as they might well have seemed for the purpose, were to be rewarded, coaxed, flattered, pressured, and guided into serving the regime'.²⁸⁸

He rightly claims, however, that: 'It was problematic for ambitious young writers to keep their artistic self-respect, if they put their pens to the service of politicians'.²⁸⁹ This book argues, however, that they did indeed maintain their 'artistic self-respect'.

The main problem, as Osgood saw it, while considering the opposing views of Syme and White, was the relationship between the role of patron and the promoter of propaganda:

Latin poetry could influence the minds not only of its Italian readers but also of those who heard it recited. And it could do so not just by

celebrating Octavian, but also by giving expression to values he wished to be associated with.²⁹⁰

Griffin makes a neat distinction. Maecenas, as patron of a group of poets, was faced with the question, no doubt raised by Augustus, of how these writers might be used to help the new regime:

either (a) in the directly ‘political’ sense of bolstering the personal position of Octavian/Augustus as permanent head of state, or, (b) in the more general sense of enlisting support for the moral and social revival which should distinguish his Rome from the disasters of the late Republic.²⁹¹

Osgood sees the key in *exempla*:

Maecenas’ patronage of the poets Vergil and Horace must ultimately have had his (Octavian’s) blessing too – certainly, in part, because Octavian knew that the poets could preserve one’s memory. But he was also more genuinely interested in their activity, the way they created exempla, and might create an exemplum of him and the values he stood for, in a manner that Antony – to his political cost – never was.²⁹²

Griffin makes the important point about the significance of the work of Maecenas and his circle of poets in Augustan Rome that the Augustan age became known as one of the great periods of literature.²⁹³

Goldsworthy, in his recent book, provides an excellent and sensible summary of the poets of Maecenas’ circle. While he acknowledges that Maecenas’ poets were only too well aware that Augustus’ dominance was based on military power, he concludes:

It is a great mistake to dismiss their work as propaganda, or even to suggest that its content and themes were carefully controlled by Maecenas and through him by Augustus. Equally misguided is the quest to reveal carefully veiled subversion or hinted criticism of the *princeps* and his regime. Augustus prided himself on association with only the finest writers. This was a matter of self-respect, but also good politics.²⁹⁴

It is rare to see such a balanced, objective view of the work of the poets, as so many scholars argue strongly for one extreme or the other. This book, in its discussion of the three poets in subsequent chapters, argues that each poet engaged with the Augustan regime on his own terms.

Maecenas’ literary style

It is strange that Griffin and Osgood seem to express almost diametrically opposite views on Maecenas’ taste.²⁹⁵ It seems, however, that Osgood, when

referring to his 'exquisite literary taste', means the way in which he was able to bring poets of quality under his wing at a time when they were virtually unknown. Griffin, when he refers to his taste as 'rather old-fashioned', seems to be referring to what we know about Maecenas' own writing. What evidence is there of Maecenas as a writer?

Three ancient authors are critical of his style in broad terms. Tacitus condemns the 'flourishes' of Maecenas which adorn his speech like 'the gaudy clothes of a prostitute'.²⁹⁶ According to Suetonius, Augustus thought that Maecenas' literary efforts were 'ringlets dripping with perfume'.²⁹⁷ Macrobius wrote that Augustus thought that his style was casual, effeminate and loosely put together.²⁹⁸ He provides examples of mocking additions placed at the bottom of letters from Augustus to Maecenas.

There are very few surviving examples of Maecenas' own writing.²⁹⁹ Most of these are no more than a line or two quoted by other ancient authors. Seneca suggests that he wrote a *Prometheus*.³⁰⁰ Servius writes that he was a man of letters and wrote several poems.³⁰¹ He also suggests that Maecenas wrote a biography of Augustus, but this seems to be based on a misunderstanding of Horace *Carmina* 2.12.9–12. In this poem Horace tells Maecenas that he will not write an epic on Augustus as his forté is writing on light-hearted matters. Horace suggests to Maecenas that he would be better suited to writing such a history (using the future *dices* line 10), as it is a matter better suited to prose than poetry. There is no statement that Maecenas did in fact write such a history.³⁰² Although fragments of Maecenas' poetry survive, Avallone thinks that he preferred to write dialogues.³⁰³ Schmidt includes among his output an autobiographical *De Cultu Suo*, a defence of his way of life, and a *Symposium*.³⁰⁴ The latter is based on a note by Servius on Virgil *Aeneid* 8.310, in which a comment of Maecenas on the pleasant effects of wine is recorded.³⁰⁵ The use of the words *ex persona Messalae* may well suggest that Messala is a character in a written work, but the fact that Virgil and Horace are said to have been part of the symposium suggests that it may merely have been a drinking party at which Messala made remarks about the effects of drinking wine, to which Maecenas replied. Pliny states that Maecenas is one of the written sources for the story of the relationship between a schoolboy and a dolphin at Baiae.³⁰⁶ Pliny also cites Maecenas as an authority for information on fish, drugs from aquatic animals and the origin of gems.³⁰⁷ Schmidt considers that 'the prose of the quotes, which is especially mannered in its rhythm, exposes Maecenas as an Asianic poet'. He also claims that 'his deliberate obscurity which expressed itself in neologisms (*El.* 1.67–8), bold transpositions and a strongly interlocked word order caused umbrage'. He also claims that 'Maecenas reveals himself as a Neoteric poet following Catullus in metre, subject matter and in honest openness of personal expression'.³⁰⁸ It is very difficult to assess how much credence can be given to such views when so very little of his work remains.³⁰⁹ The other few examples of Maecenas' work provided by Courtney are about grammatical points, such as the gender of

nouns, or metre.³¹⁰ There seems to be evidence that Maecenas used the comparatively rare galliambic metre.³¹¹

Of the critics of Maecenas' style Seneca is the most severe. In *Ep. Mor.* 19.9 he remarks that Maecenas spoke like a 'drunken man', although the example which he criticises does not seem to merit the opprobrium which he gives it.³¹² 'The very highest peak thunders' seems to be a slightly poetic way of expressing the fact that 'even peaks have thunderstorms', which is what Seneca claims he means.³¹³ Seneca's strongest criticism comes in *Ep. Mor.* 114.4–8 where he states that Maecenas' speech was as 'ill-disciplined' as his dress, his words as 'peculiar as his behaviour, his speech rambling and difficult to understand and, in summary, the obscene eloquence of a drunken man, rambling and full of outspokenness'.³¹⁴ There is no way of knowing for sure whether the several examples which he gives are of things that Maecenas said or wrote. It is relevant to point out that poetic expression often does not reflect the spoken word. This would weaken Seneca's criticism of how Maecenas spoke if it is made based on what seems to be a series of random examples of his writing. Because they are quotes out of context, it is very difficult to assess the validity of Seneca's claims. For example, '*tenuisve cerei fila et crepacem molam*' has a nominative (*fila*) with a dependent genitive (*tenuisve cerei*) and an accusative pair (*crepacem molam*), but has no verb to explain how they are linked together. The first two examples given are very poetical and reminiscent of Virgil: the first (*amne silvisque ripa comantibus*) has interlocking word order and a probable hendiadys, the second (*alveum lintribus arent versoque vado remittant hortos*) metaphor and alliteration. Some of the quotations certainly seem strange and are difficult to understand, but that will always be the case where they are taken out of their context. Seneca clearly wants to condemn Maecenas for his lifestyle and his dress, and, therefore, wants to liken his speech and writing to that of a man with dissolute habits. He cannot have heard him speak, but will have had access to his writings. His case would be stronger if he had quoted passages rather than isolated sentences. It is worth noting that, just as Seneca criticises Maecenas, he in turn is criticised by later writers. Quintilian writes that 'Seneca's style is mostly corrupt and extremely dangerous, since it overflows with attractive vices'.³¹⁵ Aulus Gellius describes his language as 'common and vulgar'.³¹⁶ Fronto thought that his writings were made up of 'a few pieces of silver in a sewer'.³¹⁷ West argues, as this chapter does, that the fragments quoted by Seneca are insufficient evidence to support Seneca's attack on Maecenas' written and spoken style, and suggests a possible reason for Seneca's hostility:

Besides, the Stoic philosopher is temperamentally out of sympathy with the hedonist, and Seneca may well have been inclined to take a jaundiced view of Maecenas because of the fact that Maecenas had been conspicuously more successful as a counsellor of Augustus than Seneca was as a counsellor of Nero.³¹⁸

Quintilian, in his discussion of the use of inversion of word order and the splitting of words which agree through hyperbaton, cites three short sentences from Maecenas as examples of the bad use of such *transgressiones*.³¹⁹ The first of these (*sole et aurora rubent plurima*) seems simply to involve the very common Latin technique of hendiadys. Russell, in his translation of the sentence in the Loeb edition, treats *plurima* as an adverb, which would be very unusual, as the singular *plurimum* is usually used in this way, but it seems that it is just as likely that it is the neuter plural and is subject of the verb.³²⁰ It is difficult to agree with Avallone who wants to make the final 'a' of *plurima* long so that the phrase begins and ends with a Cretic, as *plurima* does not agree with *aurora*, but is the neuter plural subject of the verb, and neuter plurals are short.³²¹ The second example (*inter [se] sacra movit aqua fraxinos*) separates the noun *fraxinos* from its governing preposition *inter*, places the verb in between the adjective-noun pair which form the subject, and separates the verb from its reflexive pronoun. Russell strangely has a footnote to the effect that *movit* is used intransitively, when it is in fact used transitively with the reflexive *se* as its object in the text which he uses.³²² There is much similarity to a line from Virgil, and Horace commonly plays with word order in this way, such as the well-known start to *Carmina* 1.5.³²³ One can imagine the three of them discussing such poetic techniques over a glass of wine. The line from Virgil places Aeneas' ships making their way between the 'green trees' and places the word *secant* between the adjective-noun pair *viridis ... silvas*.³²⁴ Virgil also places the verb between adjective-noun pairs four more times in lines 93–7 of Book 8. Quintilian's third example (*ne exequias quidem unus inter miserrimos viderem meas*) shows the separation of adjective and noun by placing the noun *exequias* at the beginning of the sentence and the adjective *meas* at the end. Such hyperbaton is a very common feature of Roman poetry, for example *Aeneid* 8.32, and in prose writers like Cicero.³²⁵ Quintilian does not tell us whether the quotations are from poetry or prose written by Maecenas. The fact that Courtney does not include Quintilian's examples in his fragments of the poetry of Maecenas suggests that he regards them as examples of prose writing. The examples certainly do not seem to scan as poetry, although Avallone thinks that they may be examples of naturally rhythmic prose.³²⁶ If this is the case, the comparison has to be with Cicero's prose, even if the second example seems so similar to a line of Virgil. The examples given do not seem to 'be running wild with complete freedom', nor does Quintilian substantiate the claim that inverted word order is confined to topics which are not sad or that it detracts from the seriousness of the subject matter. Avallone thinks that this third example should be viewed from the point of view of Maecenas' Epicureanism, a philosophy which did not view death morbidly.³²⁷

Suetonius in his *Life of Horace* quotes an epigram written by Maecenas for Horace to show how much he loved him (*ni te visceribus meis, Horati, / plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem/ninio videas strigosiores*).³²⁸ It is very short and cannot give us much of an insight into Maecenas' poetic style,

apart from the fact that he uses the uncommon word *strigosiore* and the even more uncommon word *ninnio*, which may be a Latin version of an unknown Greek word. Such use of rare words may well be an affectation and one which attempts to show cleverness. It might account for the view that Agrippa had of his writings as those of the ‘inventor of an affected style’, as reported by Suetonius in his *Life of Virgil*.³²⁹ As Suetonius in his *Life of Augustus* refers to the fact that Augustus did not like his flowery style and constantly made fun of it, it is very likely that there were faults in his poetic style. Isidorus quotes five lines that appear to have been written by Maecenas to Horace.³³⁰

*lucentes, mea vita, nec smaragdus
beryllos mihi, Flacce, nec nitentes
nec percandida margarita quaero
nec quos Thynica lima perpolivit
anulos neque iasprios lapillos.*

The lines glitter with precious stones, but that is not to be unexpected in a piece of poetry. It is interesting that four of the words (*smaragdus*, *beryllos*, *margarita* and *iasprios*) appear in the mocking farewells of Augustus quoted by Macrobius.³³¹ It is impossible to make a sound assessment of his literary style from the very meagre remnants of his writing. There is certainly evidence of Maecenas’ use of unusual vocabulary, but, in other respects, what remains of his work is too meagre to confirm or deny claims made about his style. If, of course, we accept the case made in the introduction, we have an elegiac poem of four hundred and seventy-four lines as an example of his style. The *Consolatio ad Liviam* may not be sophisticated in metre, style and taste, as Mozley suggests, but there is no doubting its sincerity.³³² It does seem to match what one would expect Maecenas to write in the circumstances of the death of Drusus to try to console not just Livia, but the imperial family too. The introduction has argued that the author took considerable care in composing it.

Maecenas’ lifestyle

Criticism of Maecenas’ lifestyle comes under several headings and is made by a variety of ancient authors. Even the anonymous *Elegy* points to one criticism made by people of Maecenas – his dress and a mind which perhaps was not in line with Roman *gravitas* (1.21).³³³ The composer of the elegy answers the criticism by referring to the excessive simplicity of his life, which is said to be in accord with the behaviour of men in the golden age of Justice (1.22–4), but Seneca sees him as a man devoted to pleasure.³³⁴ The anonymous author (Augustus?) thinks that his dress did no harm to anyone (1.25–8), yet Seneca is highly critical of it.³³⁵ Martial mentions the expensive gift of an Ausonian toga as one suitable for Maecenas.³³⁶ One

can understand his different manner of dressing being at odds with the toga-wearing Romans and causing offence to the more straight-laced and traditional among them. Linked to his form of dress is the charge of effeminacy made by Velleius Paterculus, Seneca and Macrobius.³³⁷ Although Seneca criticises this aspect of his character, it is only Tacitus who accuses him of a homosexual relationship with the actor Bathyllus.³³⁸ Although it is difficult to argue from silence, it seems very unlikely that Seneca would resist the opportunity of accusing Maecenas of such a relationship, if there was any truth in it. Seneca does, however, quote Maecenas as an example of a man devoted to pleasure.³³⁹ There is evidence, even from his friend Horace, that he enjoyed dinner parties and was not above flirting with his host's wife, as Plutarch suggests.³⁴⁰ Maecenas is criticised for eating the flesh of young donkeys.³⁴¹ This seems very surprising when bearing in mind the things which Romans apparently ate, as described, for example, by Horace in *Satires* 2.8.³⁴² One example of his wealthy lifestyle is the fact that wines in the area round Cezena were known as Maecenean.³⁴³ Horace often refers to the pleasure that he will get from drinking wine with Maecenas, if ever Maecenas can find the time, even if his own wine will be much inferior to the wines that Maecenas is accustomed to drinking. Another example is the evidence of the sumptuousness of his furniture and the flattery which it encourages amongst his guests.³⁴⁴ Maecenas' use of a litter, alluded to by Juvenal, might be seen as un-Roman and a sign of decadence, but it could be that this was linked to his illness and inability to sleep in his later years.³⁴⁵ Being carried in a litter may have relieved the symptoms of his illness and helped him to catch some sleep while moving around the city. In *Ep. Mor.* 92.35 Seneca concedes that Maecenas' words about not needing a tomb are those of 'a man of action', but then explains that Maecenas may originally have been such a man, but became lax because of his rich way of life.³⁴⁶

Not only is Seneca highly critical of Maecenas' dress, effeminacy, wealth and love of pleasure, but he also accuses him of cowardice for his fear of death.³⁴⁷ Seneca calls Maecenas' prayer to be allowed to go on living, whatever the pain, to be 'womanish and disgraceful'. Certainly fear of death is not Stoic, but at the same time being prepared to go on living in the face of adversity is. One wonders whether Maecenas' desire to go on living in the circumstances described by Seneca was really so shameful. Seneca also makes much of what he claims was the difficult relationship between Maecenas and his wife Terentia. One wonders whether their relationship was any worse than others in Rome at the time and whether Maecenas was to blame or Terentia. It is difficult to judge from this limited evidence. What is clear from the second *Elegy* is that Maecenas valued Terentia very highly and wanted her with him as he died.

Maecenas' appearance and lifestyle are very much part of the case made by Beatrice Bittarello against him.³⁴⁸ Seneca is very critical of him. Bittarello makes use of this evidence to mount her case. Avallone argues, however,

that Seneca is too far removed in time to have known him, and has a pre-conceived dislike, which is not totally justified.³⁴⁹ Suetonius, in the story of Gaius Melissus, shows us that Maecenas was not only generous of spirit towards his circle of poets, but also to others who came under his care.³⁵⁰ Most of Maecenas' ancient critics also have good words to say. Martial and Juvenal acknowledge his generous patronage and wish that such patrons existed in their own time.³⁵¹ Although Tacitus' first mention of Maecenas with regard to his relationship with Bathyllus is derogatory, the other references to him are positive and emphasise the importance of his role under Augustus.³⁵² For example, Tacitus in summing up the life of Sallustius Crispus in a complimentary way likens him to Maecenas in lifestyle, behaviour and reluctance to become a senator.³⁵³ Suetonius points to the rareness of close relationships with Augustus: Maecenas is an outstanding exception.³⁵⁴ Cassius Dio stresses the positive and calming influence of Maecenas on Augustus.³⁵⁵

A reading of the texts, both contemporary and later, shows that Maecenas was fearless in offering advice to Augustus, even if it may not have been to his liking, such as that regarding the future of Agrippa.³⁵⁶ In 55.7.1–6 Dio relates how Maecenas had often calmed Augustus when he was angry and gives the example of a case which Augustus was trying in court. When he sensed that Augustus' anger had got the better of him and that he was about to condemn many to death, Maecenas threw a tablet into his lap on which he had written 'Stand up then, executioner'. This brought Augustus to his senses and saved the men from the death sentence. Dio comments that:

Augustus never took offence at such actions, but welcomed them, because, when he became more enraged than was appropriate because of either his nature or the pressure of the situation, his behaviour was corrected by the advice of his friends.

This emphasises the way in which Maecenas could see beyond the immediate and think of the long-term consequences of what Augustus might do. He wanted Augustus to behave rationally and to do what was in the best interest of his future. Seneca, on the other hand, seems to have been more reluctant to do the same with Nero the longer he was emperor. It may well be that Seneca's philosophical views did not approve of the lifestyle of Nero and his court. As he felt unable to attack Nero and his court, he did so by attacking the lifestyle of Maecenas, whom he considered to have behaved in a similar way.³⁵⁷ If Byrne is right in asserting that Seneca's attack is really aimed at one of his contemporaries rather than Maecenas, then the reliance of scholars on the negative picture presented by Seneca is undermined.³⁵⁸ It may also be true that Seneca envied Maecenas' success and honesty as an adviser, negotiator and administrator, and tried to discredit him so that he could not himself be compared unfavourably with him. He clearly was

jealous of the fact that Maecenas was able to retire into the background, whereas he was not allowed to do so by Nero at a time when he perhaps wanted to dissociate himself from the emperor and his behaviour. Alison Sharrock and Rhiannon Ash see the contradiction: 'There seemed to be such a glaring discrepancy between the wholesome message of Seneca's philosophical writings and the sordid reality of his life, so inextricably bound up with Nero'.³⁵⁹

The last years and his death

We know from Horace and Pliny the Elder that Maecenas was not in good health for the last years of his life. Pliny the Elder in his *Natural History* writes that Maecenas suffered from a continual fever and could not sleep for the last three years of his life.³⁶⁰ Pliny cannot mean what he seems to say. No doubt he means to say that Maecenas found sleep difficult during his last three years and suffered from insomnia, but no one could stay awake for three years. Seneca suggests that he suffered from insomnia (*de Prov.* 1.3.10).³⁶¹ It is not clear either what Pliny means when he says that Maecenas suffered from a continual fever. Perhaps he developed malaria, which was not uncommon in those times. Symptoms of malaria include severe fever, insomnia, severe muscle pain, morning stiffness in the limbs, and the possibility that tender points of the body will hurt with the slightest movement.³⁶² Malarial symptoms would, therefore, account for the insomnia and continual fever mentioned by Pliny and Seneca. It may be a reason for his preference for travel in a litter around Rome, as he might have been able to enjoy snatches of sleep while being carried to his next destination. If he was suffering from muscle pain, he might have found walking difficult too. It is easy for authors to condemn his use of a litter when they do not understand the reason for his use of one. If he had malaria, he was probably relieved to be free from any responsibilities and duties under the emperor. Syme, following Seneca, is scathing of Maecenas behaviour in the face of approaching death.³⁶³ Maecenas seems to sink into obscurity, although he remained a patron of the arts and was probably still a significant figure within Roman society and the party life of the wealthy. Scholars agree that Augustus was as affected by the death of Maecenas as by that of Agrippa, because they had been his staunch supporters and advisers from the very beginning of his rise to power.³⁶⁴

The second, shorter *Elegy for Maecenas* is mainly expressed in the first person as if they are the last words of the dying Maecenas and how he wishes his life and his relationship with Augustus to be remembered.³⁶⁵ He is made to say that he will not be able to forget Augustus even when dead (*tunc quoque non potero non memor esse tui* 2.22), as he has much to be grateful for to him (*exemplum vixi te propter molle beatilunus Maecenas teque ego propter eram* 2.23–4). The closeness of their relationship is attested by *pectus eram vere pectoris ipse tui* (2.26). The elegy ends with a devout prayer for a successful future for Augustus (2.27–31).

He died in 8 BC, fifty-nine days before Horace according to Suetonius.³⁶⁶ When referring to his death Buchan sums him up as follows: ‘He had been a sick man for some years, suffering especially from insomnia, and all his life he had been in delicate health’.³⁶⁷ He provides, however, no supporting evidence for Maecenas’ lifelong ‘delicate health’.

Cassius Dio tells us that he made Augustus his heir, in spite of the alleged relationship between the emperor and Terentia.³⁶⁸ A series of inscriptions shows that slaves belonging to Maecenas became the slaves of Augustus or Livia.³⁶⁹ There is also evidence of one of his freedmen who rose to prominence during his lifetime, Gaius Melissus Maecenas. He was a grammarian and was employed by Augustus as librarian of the library in the Porticus Octaviae in about 23 BC. He ‘invented a form of light drama in the *fabula trabeata* (the *trabea* was a garment worn by *equites*), whose characters were equestrian’.³⁷⁰ He also collected jests in a series of one hundred and fifty books.

A summary of what we do know of his life from the ancient texts

As a result of a review of all the extant texts from Greek and Roman writers, we can state with confidence the following details concerning the life and character of Maecenas:

- He was an Etruscan of noble lineage and a member of the equestrian class
- He was wealthy and owned a house and substantial gardens on the Esquiline Hill, where he had transformed a wretched part of Rome into an area which his fellow citizens could enjoy
- He fought bravely alongside Octavian at Philippi, almost certainly in Sicily and at Actium, and just possibly at Mutina
- He was an important, trusted and excellent negotiator between Octavian and Antony
- His unwavering loyalty to Octavian was rewarded with a position as one of his closest advisers
- He was fearless in his advice and was often able to calm an angry Augustus and to keep him from hasty and excessive behaviour
- He worked hard, together with Agrippa, to ensure that Octavian became the ruler of Rome so that the Civil Wars would come to an end
- He was entrusted with the running of Rome and Italy, while Octavian was away from Rome in the 30s and early 20s, and was an efficient guardian of Rome and Italy
- He was the most generous patron and supporter of a group of poets
- He may have fallen from favour in the late 20s because of an indiscretion involving his wife Terentia, but it is more likely that he withdrew to the background on his own initiative, because he retained Augustus’ friendship and was allowed to enjoy retirement on the Esquiline

- His lifestyle and extravagance raised eyebrows at the time and for some years later remained an exemplar quoted by writers
- He did not enjoy good health, especially in the last years of his life.

How modern scholars have responded to the information given by ancient authors about the way in which Maecenas led his life

Many scholars use strongly negative language when discussing Maecenas. For example, the words ‘effeminate hedonist’, ‘antic and grotesque’, ‘the foibles of the aesthete and the foppishness of the *petit maître*’, ‘sinister’, ‘devious’, ‘vicious, but uxorious’, ‘voluptuary’, ‘debauched, but watchful’, and even a comparison with ‘Goebbels’ are all used.³⁷¹ Such language is, of course, designed for maximum effect and, as a result, may be hyperbolic. Why did they hold such negative views? When did this negative picture begin to become popular?

As early as the seventeenth century Meibomius wrote a biography in Latin based on as many ancient texts as he could find. He included all the information which he could gather on Maecenas’ personal eccentricities and foibles. He provided these suggested flaws in his character, of which the younger Seneca was the main ancient source rather than the contemporaries of Maecenas, but he concluded that Maecenas had outstanding virtues and that any perceived vices could not detract from his very significant contribution to life in the Augustan Age.³⁷² In the eighteenth century Richer, as translated by Schomberg, is much more defensive of Maecenas’ character and lifestyle.³⁷³ He considers that ‘Envy ever attends the great. Most of these imputations are frivolous and idle, and have no foundation but in the brains of these cavilists’.³⁷⁴ He is dismissive of the reliability of the bitter Stoic Seneca as a source for Maecenas’ character and behaviour. In our own time, however, Syme seems to have developed a genuine dislike for Maecenas, instances of which have already been discussed, but Syme was writing a history of the period rather than a biography of Maecenas.³⁷⁵ Avallone wrote, in Italian, the first biography of Maecenas of recent times.³⁷⁶ His overall assessment of Maecenas’ character and behaviour is generally positive.³⁷⁷ He is right to view Seneca as a discredited source. Seneca’s attitude towards Maecenas may have been based on the fact that he wrote on issues of morality or as a result of the hypocrisy involved in being part of the inner circle of the imperial court of Nero.³⁷⁸ Seneca was, after all, in a similar position vis-à-vis the tyrannical Nero to that of Maecenas to Augustus.

Miriam Griffin suggests another possible reason, when she identifies the fact that Seneca criticises Maecenas at some length: ‘This is not mere literary and moral censure: Maecenas was a political mistake. He cut a deplorable figure as the Princes’ representative: *nam etiam cum absentis Caesaris partibus fungeretur, signum a discincto petebatur* (Ep.114.6)’.³⁷⁹ This suggestion, which seems to be excessive, shifts the focus of Seneca’s attack from

simply being based on un-Roman dress and a peculiar literary style to the stronger view that Augustus should never have chosen such a man to act on his behalf. Yet Augustus did choose him, made extensive use of his skills and did not seem, according to the ancient sources, to have regretted having done so. From Augustus' point of view, his choice of Maecenas does not seem to have been a 'political mistake'. Modern critics of Maecenas tend to gloss over the contemporary sources and to rely upon later authors, especially Seneca, for the basis of their criticism. Later authors who never knew him and had to rely on reported evidence tend to want to use him as an exemplar of a dissolute lifestyle which is un-Roman. They criticise him for being un-Roman by refusing to seek magisterial positions and to enter the senate. This view is contrary to the facts of the late Republic and early Empire when most *equites* did not seek membership of the senate. The character assassination of these scholars is based on assumptions for which there is no real supporting evidence and is contrary to the view of Maecenas expressed by the majority of ancient writers, especially those who were his contemporaries. Scholars also used the clear distinction between the characters and roles of Maecenas and Agrippa to claim that there existed animosity between the two, whereas the evidence from ancient sources does not support this view. They may also have based their views on Maecenas' alleged advice to Augustus with regard to Agrippa. Dio writes that, with regard to the possible promotion of Agrippa, Maecenas advised Augustus that his choice was between making him his son-in-law through marriage to Julia or to have him put to death because Agrippa had become so powerful.³⁸⁰ The argument of this chapter is that scholars are mistaken on both these grounds.

Southern highlights a basic contradiction. She identifies his considerable energy and foresight, when the situation demanded it, but also 'his love of leisure and academic pursuits' which were his focus to the exclusion of all else, when the occasion arose. She contrasts his role with that of Agrippa, since 'he either worked in the background or carried out confidential missions which have remained confidential'.³⁸¹

Diana Kleiner identifies the unusual basis of Maecenas' influence when she asserts that 'Maecenas was one of the earliest and staunchest supporters of Rome's first emperor, and his power in the age of Augustus came from his friendship and not from a rise through military and political ranks'. She considers that 'he worked with Augustus to accomplish critical alliances' and that, 'even though Maecenas never became a magistrate or senator, he possessed authority in Rome'.³⁸²

Much of what the ancient sources present to us is a picture of Maecenas' private life and the fact that he maintained certain Etruscan characteristics in spite of the various roles which he fulfilled for Augustus in Rome and Italy. The relationship between the Romans and Etruscans is crucial, as Farney points out.³⁸³ One of the significant points made by Farney here is that he claims that Rome 'eventually adopted the stereotype of the

Etruscans that we find in Greek sources'. It should be remembered that to the Greeks the Etruscans were barbarians and that some Greek writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, were intent on showing that Rome was a Greek and not a barbarian city. Yet, in the period after the end of the Social Wars the distinction between Romans and those from various areas of Italy became more blurred. In Rome's early history Etruscans were connected with kings and kings became an anathema in Republican Rome. In the fifth, fourth and third centuries BC there were frequent conflicts between Rome and various cities in Etruria, but these came to an end with the defeat of Volsinii in 264 BC. Another point made by Farney is that Etruscan nobles were reluctant to enter the Senate. If they were members of the equestrian class, it was more common for them to remain within that class than to become '*novi homines*' in the senate.

It is when Farney turns to Maecenas that he is quite mistaken.³⁸⁴ It seems particularly inappropriate for Farney to include Maecenas' close friend Horace among the critics, because he does not, from a reading of his poetry, 'emphasise his decadence'. It is true that the collection of the ancient sources does show that there was criticism of his lifestyle, but such criticism is not as significant as the praise for his achievements. For example, Tacitus does indeed condemn an alleged relationship with Bathyllus (*Ann.* 1.54), but four of his other references are complimentary about Maecenas' role under Octavian/Augustus (*Ann.* 3.30; 6.11; 14.53; 14.55). Farney, however, seems to indulge in hyperbole. For example, he claims that 'Further, *they* (my italics) emphasise his torrid relationship with a beautiful actor named Bathyllus' which suggests that all his authorities make this case, when it is only Tacitus who mentions it directly. The elder Seneca refers to 'Maecenas' Bathyllus' and Cassius Dio simply refers to Bathyllus as a favourite of Maecenas.³⁸⁵ Nor is Farney's claim that there was a 'familiar effeminate and sexually depraved image of Etruscans' convincing. The very limited sources which he provides to support his case come from a much earlier period than the Augustan Age, by which time the relationship between the Romans and the Etruscans had changed substantially, as the Etruscans had been conquered and absorbed by the Romans. Farney's use of the words 'rumour had it that' with regard to the relationship between Maecenas and Terentia suggests the unreliability of the primary evidence. Nor does he satisfactorily substantiate his statement that the writers on whom he relies '*must* (my italics) be indebted to contemporary writers and rivals who knew Maecenas well and did not approve of his behaviour, and who were perhaps ready to embellish his reputation and tie it to his Etruscan origin'. The contemporary sources which we have are rarely anything other than complimentary. It is speculation to suggest that there were other contemporary writers, whose work no longer exists, which were the source of the negative view of later writers. Maecenas' estate on the Esquiline may have been opulent like those of other wealthy Romans. It is true that it was large, but Horace (*Sat.* 1.8) makes clear that Maecenas, at his own expense,

turned a cesspit into gardens which could be enjoyed by all. Goodman points out that Maecenas' gardens became 'areas for public recreation' rather than 'symbols of private luxury'.³⁸⁶ It should be remembered that other Roman senators and equestrians also lived in such splendour in Rome. It should also be remembered that he established an area where poets could thrive. Farney concludes that Maecenas was never able to live down this reputation, in spite of the efforts of poets to present a more positive picture and his own attempted defence in the lost *De Cultu Suo*. Farney also suggests that it may have been this reputation which restricted the advancement of his career by Augustus. This chapter has already argued that many of the negative views held of Maecenas, such as those of Farney, are not supported by what survives from ancient literature. It is also very unlikely that this reputation restricted Maecenas' advancement, as it is clear that he did not at any time seek such advancement. The primary sources do not support Farney's view.

The negative view of Maecenas reached its nadir in Beatrice Bittarello's article, which condemned him for his 'Etruscan otherness' and his similarity to Sejanus and Otho.³⁸⁷ Bittarello condemned Maecenas on the grounds that his lifestyle was not Roman and lacked Roman *gravitas*. He loved luxury. His dress was not Roman. He had a thirst for power, but he was content to remain an *eques* and to retire from public life – un-Roman characteristics. Her case for the 'otherness' of Etruscans, based on items such as weapons (bow and arrow, and spear), hunting, cavalry, cowardice, cruelty, effeminacy, love of luxury, and different religious practices, is based on false assumptions and should be dismissed. In summary, her case against Maecenas can be countered by the view that he was a very loyal and effective right-hand man and supporter of Augustus. He was *not* one who sought power, but held important positions when asked to do so and was very efficient in carrying out his duties. He was one of history's great literary patrons. She states with reference to Maecenas, Sejanus and Otho (whom she links to Maecenas merely because of their Etruscan origins) that 'their alleged ambition, unrestrained passions and excessive behaviour are condemned because they are presented as threatening Rome's political stability'.³⁸⁸ While it might be argued that Sejanus and Otho were ambitious and threatened Rome's political stability, there is not a shred of evidence from ancient authors that Maecenas ever threatened Rome's political stability. On the contrary, he helped to *bring about stability* by contributing towards the end of the civil wars and by establishing Augustus as *princeps*. Nor is there any evidence in ancient authors that Maecenas was ambitious.³⁸⁹ One could accuse Augustus of being ambitious; one could accuse Agrippa of being ambitious. On the surviving evidence, one can only accuse Maecenas of having the ambition to see Octavian become the ruler of the Roman world so that the civil wars came to an end. One could accuse him of having an ambition to see the poets of his circle successful. There is no evidence of ambition for his own success. On the contrary, the evidence of

Horace (*Sat.* 1.6.49–52), Propertius (3.9.21–32), Velleius Paterculus (2.88), the first *Elegy* (31–2), Tacitus (3.30) and Cassius Dio (55.7.1–6) clearly proves that Maecenas was not ambitious.³⁹⁰ To claim that it was un-Roman for a member of the *equites* to want to remain one and to refuse to enter the *cursus honorum* is to ignore the fact that many *equites* did not pursue the *cursus honorum*, although there were many others who did choose this course, as Syme points out.³⁹¹ Cicero is the outstanding example of one who chose to become a senator.

Le Doze considers that he worked to establish a mode of government that would last and be accepted by the Romans.³⁹² He, like Avallone, sees that the positive roles played by Maecenas far outweigh the perceived failings in his lifestyle. Likewise, Chillet holds a positive view of his achievements in Rome and Italy. There seems to be a dichotomy, therefore, between those who discuss Maecenas' role within the wider context of the Augustan Age and the biographers who draw together all the information available in ancient sources. The former seem to rely too heavily on the jaundiced view of the Younger Seneca; the latter provide a much more comprehensive and sustainable picture. This biography is no different.

Conclusion

In summary, the focus of this chapter has been on assembling all the extant texts from ancient authors which mention Maecenas. It differs from other scholars in the fact that everything that is suggested about Maecenas is based on evidence from the primary texts. The one hundred and sixty-one passages in Appendix A have been used to try to assemble a true picture of Maecenas which can be supported by original evidence. The passages have also been used to test the claims made by scholars. Many of them are writing primarily about Augustus or even Agrippa, so that Maecenas is a secondary concern for them. This focus is similar to the treatment of many ancient writers. For example, Plutarch in his *Antony* mentions Agrippa four times and Maecenas only once, while Appian mentions Agrippa thirteen times and Maecenas only six. Some modern scholars continue the negative features of his character that are common in some of the later primary sources, such as the jaundiced views expressed by the younger Seneca. This chapter has been able to show, however, that most of such claims by scholars have no basis in evidence from ancient writers. These scholars also use the difference in the roles of Maecenas and Agrippa as an excuse to claim that they strongly disliked each other or particularly that Agrippa disliked Maecenas, when the primary evidence presents no such picture, but rather a close co-operation between Augustus, Agrippa and Maecenas. The conclusion of this chapter is that the case made for Etruscan 'otherness', which Bittarello applies to Maecenas, is also unsustainable. Only Avallone and, very recently, Le Doze and Chillet, in their biographies, consistently present a more positive view of the man and his achievements. The

argument here is that this is the correct conclusion based on the primary evidence. Much of the criticism made by scholars is based on false premises rather than supported by evidence from the available primary sources.

Ancient writers who criticise his lifestyle, but not his public roles, are for the most part not contemporaries and must, therefore, rely on hearsay evidence; many scholars, such as Farney, perpetuate this view. Contemporary sources present a very different picture and a positive impression – they are content to condone the imperfections and foibles of his lifestyle because of his achievements under Augustus and his generosity as a patron; some scholars such as Avallone, Southern, Le Doze and Chillet follow this view. The argument of this chapter is that the latter is the correct assessment of Gaius Maecenas. One is bound to ask whether Augustus' path to success and the emperorship would have been so straightforward without the contribution of Maecenas. While it is true that Agrippa would still have won military victories for him, Augustus might have found it difficult to find someone whom he could trust to fulfil the significant and difficult task of keeping Rome and Italy on his side and under control. One also wonders whether Augustus could have found a negotiator the equal of Maecenas, who, by his excellent diplomacy, did his best to prevent war between Octavian and Antony. Without Maecenas we would not have seen the same flourishing of poetry in the Augustan age. The argument is that he had a significant influence on the writers of the Augustan Age.³⁹³ It is true that there were other patrons, such as Asinius Pollio and Messalla Corvinus, but it was Maecenas who seemed to be able to pick poets with potential and, by his generous support, to help them to flourish and to produce the great poetry of the Augustan age. As Syme points out, 'the Princeps had the best poets, seduced long since and embriagated by Maecenas'.³⁹⁴ He was a major and important figure of the Augustan age and one to whom many scholars have not done full justice. To present Maecenas in a negative way is to perpetuate the attitude shown by Seneca and other primary sources, but is to ignore the contemporary sources and the significant positive contribution which he made to the restoration of peace and a return to stability in Rome and Italy.

There is no doubt that Maecenas, notably because of the way in which he dressed, was a significant Etruscan presence in Rome during the Augustan Period. He does not seem in any way to have been embarrassed by his Etruscan past. In fact, he seems to flaunt it. His Etruscan heritage does not seem to have hindered his progress in Roman society. As has already been pointed out, his attitude to the Etruscan past is markedly different from that of Agrippa. Yet, in spite of his pride in his Etruscan heritage, he was a committed Roman, whose prime aim was to restore peace and bring prosperity to Rome and Italy.

The focus of this book turns in greater detail in the next three chapters to the relationship between Maecenas and the three great surviving poets of his circle, Virgil, Horace and Propertius. Each chapter searches for the

ancient evidence of these relationships, the extent to which we can say that these three poets were influenced by their patron, the way in which they interacted with the Augustan regime and whether any Etruscan influence can be detected in their work. It is important to deal with each separately as the form of the patronage of each seems to be different, and also different from what may be considered the usual form of patronage.

Notes

- 1 One assumes that Richer by 'proper name' means what is usually called the '*praenomen*', by 'family name' the '*nomen*', by 'surname' the '*cognomen*', and by the 'second surname' the '*agnomen*'.
- 2 Richer (1748). Richer (ix) acknowledges the importance of the work in Latin of Meibomius (1653) in his research on Maecenas. Quintilian 1.5.62 asserts that the genitive of his name should end in –tis, not –e.
- 3 Meibomius (1653).
- 4 Avallone (1954, 14–15); Heurgon (1964, 208).
- 5 Earl (1968, 72). This is the view held also by Andreae (2005).
- 6 Simpson (1996, 394–5).
- 7 *OCD* (1971, 636). Glucker (*OCD* 1996, 907), too, states: "Cilnius" may have been his mother's name, perhaps descended from an ancient Etruscan family, the Cilnii of Arretium'. Simpson (1996, 398) considers that the idea that 'Cilnius was Maecenas' matronymic' is an 'unnecessary' solution to the problem.
- 8 Byrne (1999); Walker (1952).
- 9 Cadoux and Tomlin in *OCD* (2012, 1202) suggest a false start with Messalla Corvinus in 25 BC, but a permanent post from AD 13 with the appointment of Calpurnius Piso.
- 10 Le Doze (2014, 12–13).
- 11 Chillet (2016, 29–45).
- 12 Chillet (2016, 33).
- 13 *Eleg. Maec.* 1.13. (Extract 46). See Everitt (2006, 65). See also Prop. 3.9.1. (Extract 36) and Mart. 12.3. (Extract 75).
- 14 Meibomius (1653, 10). The genealogy which he gives is: Elbius, Tyrrhenus, Titus, Volturenus, Caecina Volturenus, Menippus, Menodoros, Maecenas.
- 15 Richer (1748) translated by Schomberg (1766, 2–3). Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 1.1. (Extract 121), 1.20. (Extract 122).
- 16 Chillet (2016, 24–8).
- 17 Macr. 2.4.12. (Extract 157). Livy (10.3.2) writes *Etruriam rebellare ab Arretinorum seditionibus motu orto nuntiabatur, ubi Cilnium genus praepotens divitiarum invidia pelli armis coeptum*. ('It was reported that rebellion had broken out in Etruria which had its origin in insurrection in Arretium which had begun as an armed attempt to expel the very powerful family of the Cilnii because of envy of their wealth.') This passage refers to the year 302 BC and provides evidence of the long-standing power of the Cilnii at Arretium.
- 18 Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.14–20. (Extract 31).
- 19 Meibomius (1653).
- 20 Richer (1748, 1).
- 21 Avallone (1962, 1). André (1967) follows Avallone in his timeline (no pagination).
- 22 Le Doze (2014, 13).
- 23 Schmidt in *NP* (2006, 8, 109).
- 24 Potter (2008, 44).

- 25 Andrae (2005, 121). His logic for claiming that this was the year is very questionable.
- 26 Blond (1994, 87); Everitt (2006, 19).
- 27 Schoonhoven (1980, 89).
- 28 Buchan (1937, 62).
- 29 Suet. *Aug.* 8.2. *Caesare post receptas Hispanias expeditionem in Dacos et inde Parthos destinante praemissus Apolloniam studiis vacavit.* ('When Caesar, after he had recovered the Spanish provinces, was planning an expedition against the Dacians and Parthians, Octavian was sent ahead to Apollonia where he spent the time waiting in study'.)
- 30 Suet. *Aug.* 89.1. *ne Graecarum quidem disciplinarum levioe studio tenebatur. in quibus et ipsis praestabat largiter magistro dicendi usus Apollodoro Pergameo, quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc eduxerat, deinde eruditione etiam varia repletus per Arei philosophi filiorumque eius Dionysi et Nicanoris contubernium;* ('He was no less interested in Greek studies. He greatly excelled in these too, making use of Apollodorus of Pergamum as his tutor for public speaking. He had already, as a young man, taken him with him to Apollonia, although he was an old man at the time. He then experienced a varied education through association with the philosopher Areus and his sons Dionysus and Nicanor'.)
- 31 Schmidt in *NP* (2006) 8.108–11. Gardthausen (1891); Dessau (1924); Avallone (1962) and Levi (2012) think that Nicolaus made a careless mistake when referring to Lucius Maecenas. (See Extract 32).
- 32 It is possible that Nicolaus misread a capital C as a capital L, as they could be quite similar.
- 33 Hor. *Carm.* 3.8.5. (Extract 25).
- 34 Avallone (1962, 114).
- 35 Sen. *Controv.* 9.3.13–14. (Extract 40).
- 36 Haynes (2000, 385–6) considers that Etruscan was replaced by Latin in the first century BC, although it may have continued to be used by Etruscan aristocrats through to the first century AD. She also logically suggests that people in more remote areas of the countryside may have continued using Etruscan for longer than those in urban settlements.
- 37 Avallone (1962, 117). Yet Avallone believes that neither Maecenas nor his close friend Horace was totally committed to Epicureanism or any other philosophy. André (1967) supports this view.
- 38 See for example Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.5. (Extract 20); Vell. Pat. 2.88. (Extract 45); Mart. 10.73.4. (Extract 73); Cass. Dio 49.16.2. (Extract 131).
- 39 P. Lond. 3. P. 89, no. 900, l.5. Rostovtzeff (1957, 293): 'The most prominent owners (of land in Egypt) were Caius Maecenas and Caius Petronius, the two friends of Augustus, both of equestrian class'.
- 40 Osgood (2006, 320).
- 41 André (1967, 73) suggests that Maecenas acquired the land during the wars and cites Gardthausen (1891, 768) as a source. Osgood (2006, 320) writes: 'we saw how Maecenas came into Favonius' estate', yet, with regard to Favonius' slave Sarmentus, states that 'he was freed by Maecenas after being purchased at the auction of Favonius' estate' 263. He produces no primary evidence for this information.
- 42 Osgood (2006, 320); Coarelli (2014, 198). The gardens are mentioned twice by Suetonius. First he states that Tiberius moved into semi-retirement to a house there (*Tib.* 15.1, Extract 101), secondly that Virgil had a house on the Esquiline near the gardens (*Vita Vergili* 13). He also mentions a tower built on the site from which Nero watched the famous fire of Rome (*Ner.* 38.2, Extract 102).

- Horace in *Sat.* 1.8 describes how an unpleasant burial ground was transformed into pleasant gardens. See also de Vos *LTUR* 3. 74–5.
- 43 Plin. *HN* 19.177. (Extract 66).
- 44 Lanciani (1979, 409–12).
- 45 Hor. *Sat.* 1.8. 14–16; Pseudo-Acron *ad Sat.* 1.8. (Extract 114), *ad Sat.* 2.6. (Extract 118). Fronto (*Ep.* 2.2.5. Extract 109) writes that he had assumed ownership of the gardens.
- 46 The remains can be seen in the Largo Leopardi on the Via Merulana.
- 47 Lanciani (1979, 410–11).
- 48 Catullus tells us how he and Licinius spent a day playing with metres and ideas (Cat. 50).
- 49 Suet. *Tib.* 15.1. (Extract 101).
- 50 This could be compared with the Younger Seneca's complaints about living above a bath-house (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 56.1) and Martial's complaints about the noisy, distracting area in which he lived in the city (Mart. 12.57). See also Juvenal's views in *Satire* 3.
- 51 Suet. *Ner.* 38.2. (Extract 102); Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 3.29 (Extract 129); Oros. 3.7.7. (Extract 158).
- 52 Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.1–12. (Extract 27).
- 53 Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 3.29. (Extract 129).
- 54 André (1967) summary of life – no pagination, without producing any supporting evidence.
- 55 Cass. Dio 54.3.4–5. (Extract 134).
- 56 Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.38 (Extract 7).
- 57 Avallone (1962, 24) even suggests that they were married in 38 BC, before the journey to Brundisium.
- 58 Cass. Dio (54.19.3) writes that Augustus was so much in love with her that he organised a beauty contest between her and Livia. It is hard to believe that Livia would consent to that or that Augustus would do such a thing at a time when he was trying to restore traditional marriage. Cassius Dio used Polybius, Livy, Tacitus among others for sources of what he wrote in the annalistic tradition (Mc Donald *OCD* (1949, 282). *Contra* Swan (1987), discussing in particular the work of Millar (1964), argues that, when looking for his sources for the Augustan period, the three possibilities are Livy, Cremutius Cordus and Aufidius Bassus, but that a strong case cannot be made for any of them. Swan does argue, however, that there probably was an annalistic source which Dio used and that this source may have been one used also by Suetonius. Rich in *OCD* (2012) argues that, while he clearly relied on early historical writers, it is futile to search for them.
- 59 Andreae (2005, 145). See Figure I.1 in the Introduction.
- 60 Andreae (2005, 140–5).
- 61 Andreae (2005, 135).
- 62 Maecenas is on fire with love (Hor. *Ep.* 14.13–15), although Horace does not say with whom. Pseudo-Acron (*ad Epod.* 14, Extract 117) suggest that his love is for Terentia. Seneca (*Prov.* 3.10–11) writes that Maecenas had difficulty sleeping because of his love for Terentia. He adds that it is also due to the daily divorce from a difficult wife.
- 63 For example, Syme (1986, 390); West (1998, 83–4); Le Doze (2014, 199).
- 64 Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.15–16 (Extract 21).
- 65 Sen. *Ep.* 114.4 (Extract 53). It is fair to assume that Seneca made use of his father as a source for his knowledge of Maecenas and other figures of the Augustan period. Sharrock and Ash (2002, 302) consider that he was influenced by his father and by his tutors Papirius Fabianus, Attalus and Sotion.

- 66 Sen. *Ep.* 114.8 (Extract 53).
 67 Justinian *Digest* 24.1.64 (Extract 160).
 68 Suet. *Aug.* 66.3 (Extract 98). This issue is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. Suetonius may have benefited from access to imperial papers while he was secretary to Hadrian. Bradley in *OCD* (2012, 1409–10) considers that he quotes earlier writers verbatim and earlier documents, such as the letters of Augustus.
 69 Cass. Dio 54.19.3 (Extract 137).
 70 Cass. Dio 54.19.6 (Extract 138). Goldsworthy (2014, 335–6) considers this to be an absurd piece of gossip, because he claims that Livia herself accompanied Augustus to Gaul.
 71 Southern (1998, 74). Later (154) she writes:

Dio inserts the scurrilous story that he [Augustus] left Rome to enjoy the charms of Maecenas' wife Terentia more fully, but this is nonsense. He could enjoy them in Rome perfectly adequately, and probably had already done so many times.

- 72 Hammond (1980, 271).
 73 Buchan (1937, 247). See also Everitt (2006, 218–19); Levick (2010, 168).
 74 My supervisor, however, sensibly pointed out that moral crusaders are often total hypocrites.
 75 Goldsworthy (2014, 507).
 76 Avallone (1962, 54).
 77 Anderson (2010, 36).
 78 Sen. *Prov.* 1.3.10. (Extract 55).
 79 Plut. *Mor.* 760. (Extract 79). Walbank in *OCD* (1949, 707) considers that Plutarch preferred Greek sources and often took material at second hand. Sharrock and Ash (2002, 345–9) consider that he would have found accessing Roman sources difficult, as he only learnt Latin late in life. They suggest that he learned much while on his travels.
 80 Suet. *Aug.* 69.1.
 81 *Eleg. Maec.* 2.9–10 (Extract 47).
 82 Le Doze (2014, 24–5) suggests a client relationship between the Iulii and the Maecenates. He also states that Lucius Maecenas was the father of Gaius Maecenas and had acted as an advisor to Octavian, accepting Nicolaus of Damascus 31, 133 (Extract 32).
 83 Ὅτι Καῖσαρ περὶ ἐννέα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονὸς θαῦμά τε οὐ μικρὸν παρέσχε Ῥωμαίοις, φύσεως ἀκρότητα δηλώσας ἐν τοιαύτῃ ηλικίᾳ· καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι πολλὴς ἐγγίνεται θόρυβος ἐν πολλῷ ὁμίλῳ δημηγοροῦντι. ἀποθανούσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς τηθῆς, παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ ἐτρέφετο Ἀττία καὶ τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Φιλίππῳ Λευκίῳ, ὃς ἦν ἀπόγονος τῶν τὸν Μακεδὸνα Φίλιππον κεχειρωμένων. παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φιλίππῳ ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς παρὰ πατρὶ τρεφόμενος πολλὴν ὑπέφαινε ἐλπίδα ἥδη τ' ἀξιοτίμος καὶ τοῖς ἡλιζὶν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις παισί· καὶ συνήεσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν παμπληθεῖς, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων, οἱ τὸ πράττειν δι' ἐλπίδος ἦν. προύπεμπον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀμύπολλοι ὁσημέραι καὶ μειρακίσκοι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἡλικες παῖδες, εἴτε ἐφ' ἵππασίαν ἐξω τοῦ ἀστεως προῆι εἴτε παρὰ συγγενεῖς ἢ ἄλλους τινάς. ἤσκει γὰρ καὶ τὴν νυχτὴν τοῖς καλλίστοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τὸ σῶμα ταῖς γενναίαις καὶ πολεμικαῖς μελέταις καὶ τῶν διδασκόντων θάπτον αὐτὸς τὴν μάθησιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀπεδείκνυτο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι πολλὸν ζῆλον ἐνέγκασθαι. ἐφειστήκει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ καὶ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Φίλιππος, ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων τε καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς παρακατέστησαν τῷ παιδί, ὅ τι πράξειεν ἢ ὅποι πορευθεῖν ἢ ὅπως διημερεύσειεν τάς τε διατριβὰς μεθ' ὧν ποιήσαιο.
 Nicolaus of Damascus *Life of Augustus* 3

(‘When Caesar was about nine years old at most he was the source of no small amount of admiration to the Romans, as he showed excellence of nature. He gave a speech before a large crowd for which he received much praise from adults. When his grandmother died, he was brought up by his mother Atia and her husband Lucius Philippus, who was a descendant of those who conquered Philip of Macedon. Under Philippus, Caesar was brought up as if by a father and showed much promise. He was already highly respected by his companions, the children of highest birth. Many of them associated with him, quite a number of whom did so every day, adolescents, men and boys of his own age, whether he went horse-riding outside the city or visited the houses of relatives or anyone else. He exercised his mind with the finest practices and his body with both high-minded and warlike activities. He applied his lessons to the facts in hand more quickly than his teachers, and, for this reason, also earned much praise in the city. Both his mother and her husband Philippus took care of him, inquiring each day from the teachers and those caring for him, whom they placed in charge of the boy, what he had accomplished, how far he had advanced or how he had spent the day and with whom he associated’.)

- 84 Suet. *Aug.* 8 *quadrimum patrem amisit. duodecimum annum agens aviam Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit.* (‘He lost his father at the age of four. When he was twelve he praised his grandmother Julia, who had died, in a speech before the mourners’.); Quint.*Inst.* 12.6.1. *Caesar Augustus duodecim natus annos aviam pro rostris laudaverit.* (‘Augustus Caesar delivered a eulogy for his grandmother in front of the *rostra* when he was twelve years old’.)
- 85 Everitt (2006, xiv).
- 86 Goldsworthy (2014, 155) states that he [Maecenas] ‘was probably a close contemporary and perhaps one of the youths who was educated with him [Augustus]’, but without supporting evidence.
- 87 Richer (1748, 8), without supporting evidence, suggests that the three of them met at Apollonia and began their friendship there.
- 88 Avallone (1962, 114).
- 89 Plut. *Ant.* 21, 24 and 56.
- 90 In arranging the marriage with Scribonia (App. *B Civ.* 5.53, Extract 104), the ending of Antony’s siege of Brundisium and the renewal of the triumvirate (App. *B Civ.* 5.64–5, Extract 105), negotiating help against Sextus Pompey (App. *B Civ.* 5.92–3, Extract 106), and the renewal of the triumvirate at Tarentum (App. *B Civ.* 5.92–3 and 95, Extract 106).
- 91 For example see Potter (2008, 44).
- 92 Le Doze (2014, 103–12).
- 93 *Eleg. Maec.* 1.11–12 (Extract 46).
- 94 This issue is dealt with in more detail in the chapter on Propertius.
- 95 Cass. Dio 51.3.5–6 (Extract 132). See for example Everitt (2006, 201).
- 96 Richer (1748, 9) follows Propertius and argues that he was at all the battles mentioned. Southern (1998, 73) places him at Mutina.
- 97 Le Doze (2014, 26–7) asserts that there is no evidence in ancient texts that he was present at Mutina. He argues that Propertius is not proof that he was in Rome and not in Egypt, although Propertius lists Egypt. He suggests that Propertius perhaps means that Maecenas supported Octavian through this period.
- 98 Plin. *HN* 7.148. (Extract 61).
- 99 For example, Southern (1998, 73); Everitt (2006, 96).
- 100 Le Doze (2014, 47–51) argues that he had some role in the war against Sextus Pompey and was twice sent back to quell trouble in Rome.
- 101 App. *B Civ.* 5.99 (Extract 107). Mc Donald in *OCD* (1949, 73) considers that Appian used Polybius, Sallust, Asinius Pollio, Livy and Augustus’ memoirs.

Brodersen in *OCD* (2012, 126) adds Caesar, but does not cite Sallust or Livy. Magnino in *NP* (2002, 1, 898) comments that:

Usually, he is silent on his sources, which renders identification difficult. In any case, one has the impression that he primarily only relied on one author for each book, whom he did not follow uncritically since he also used additional sources for precision and correction.... The five books on the Civil War are the only comprehensive and detailed source on an incomparably important period. However, 'significance' cannot be equated with 'reliability', which is why attempts to identify A's sources primarily probe his credibility.

- 102 Avallone (1962, 15).
- 103 App. *B Civ.* 5.99 (Extract 107). This is confirmed by lines 41–2 of the first anonymous elegy, (Extract 46).
- 104 Fraenkel (1957, 72–3) argues that the anonymous elegy is unreliable evidence when compared with that of later historians. Yet, if as this thesis argues, Augustus was the author of the elegy, we should assume that he is right and the later historians are wrong.
- 105 Hor. *Epod.* 1.1–4 (Extract 11), Prop. 2.1.34–6 (Extract 34), Cass. Dio 51.3.5. (Extract 132), Pseudo-Acron *ad Epod.1* (Extract 116).
- 106 *Maecenatem prosequitur euntem ad bellum navale cum Augusto adversum Antonium et Cleopatram.* (Extract 116), Schoonhoven (1980, 63).
- 107 Du Quesnay (2002, 17–37).
- 108 *RG* 25.2 *iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit* – 'All Italy of its own accord swore to follow me and demanded that I should lead them in the war which I won at Actium'; Cass. Dio (50.6.6) *coniurati totius Italiae* – 'with all of Italy taking an oath'.
- 109 Du Quesnay (2002, 19).
- 110 Watson (2003, 57) citing Kraggerud (1984, 26–7) and Wistrand (1958, 16–19).
- 111 Le Doze (2014, 56).
- 112 Goldsworthy (2014, 191). He also states (197) that we cannot be sure that the ship in which Horace spoke of following Maecenas ever left Italy.
- 113 Chillet (2016, 292).
- 114 Harrison (2014, 30) n.55, citing Du Quesnay (2002); Watson (2003); Nisbet (2007) and Günther (2013). He notes that Fraenkel (1957) held that both were at Rome and that Anderson (2010) is undecided.
- 115 For example: Syme (1939); Earl (1968); Galinsky (2005b); Potter (2008); Levick (2010); Richardson (2012).
- 116 Avallone (1962, 19). Buchan (1937) makes frequent references to the importance to Octavian of the advice of Maecenas (21, 36, 48, 88, 112, 127, 134, 143, 161, 165, 171, 183–4).
- 117 App. *B Civ.* 5.53. (Extract 104).
- 118 Richardson (2012, 51).
- 119 App. *B Civ.* 5.64–5. (Extract 105).
- 120 See Earl (1968, 38); Everitt (2006, 120); Osgood (2006, 188); Clark (2010, 64–5); Richardson (2012, 52).
- 121 Plut. *Ant.* 32.3–5. (Extract 76).
- 122 App. *B Civ.* 5.92–3. (Extract 106).
- 123 App. *B Civ.* 5.92–3. (Extract 106).
- 124 Southern (1998, 81); Everitt (2006, 140) makes this statement without any supporting evidence from an ancient author.
- 125 App. *B Civ.* 5.92–3. (Extract 106).

- 126 Extract 7. See also Livy *Fragments of Book 127*. (Extract 33).
- 127 Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.27–29 (Extract 7).
- 128 Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.48–9 (Extract 7).
- 129 Plut. *Ant.* 35 (Extract 76) suggests that Antony was to be given two legions and a further one thousand soldiers at the request of Octavia. App. *BC* 5.95 states that Octavian was to give four legions and a thousand from his personal bodyguard. Earl (1968, 49) states that Octavian only ever provided one thousand.
- 130 See Osgood (2006, 242–50); Everitt (2006, 140); Clark (2010, 67). Buchan (1937) frequently refers to the skill of Maecenas as a negotiator (83, 88, 93, 183–4).
- 131 Syme (1939, 129).
- 132 App. *B Civ.* 5.99. (Extract 107).
- 133 See also Tac. *Ann.* 6.11 and App. *B Civ.* 5.112. (Extracts 86 and 108).
- 134 Syme (1939, 242).
- 135 Plin. *Nat.* 37.10 (Extract 67). Campbell in *OCD* (1949, 703–4) calculates that Pliny used 146 Roman authors and 327 foreign authors in compiling his work, among them Varro and Posidonius.
- 136 Tac. *Ann.* 6.11 (Extract 86).
- 137 Vell. *Pat.* 2.88 (Extract 45).
- 138 App. *B Civ.* 5.99 (Extract 107).
- 139 App. *B Civ.* 5.112 (Extract 108).
- 140 Cass. Dio 49.16.2 (Extract 131).
- 141 Cass. Dio 51.3.5–6 (Extract 132).
- 142 Cass. Dio 51.3.6. (Extract 132).
- 143 Plin. *HN* 37.10. (Extract 67).
- 144 Le Doze (2014, 60).
- 145 Chillet (2016, 321–31).
- 146 Vell. *Pat.* 2.88. (Extract 45). App. *B Civ.* 4.50. (Extract 103). It is also mentioned by Livy *Epit.* 133, Suet. *Aug.* 19, Cass. Dio 54.15.4. See for example, Everitt (2006, 200–1); Levick (2010, 173).
- 147 Everitt (2006, 201); Levick (2010, 173).
- 148 Cass. Dio 54.15. Dio writes that Augustus found various ways of humiliating Lepidus, such as summoning him to Rome, when he did not want to leave his country estate, and taking him to meetings of the Senate, where he would be insulted for his loss of power.
- 149 Avallone (1962, 59). Yet Avallone asserts that Velleius is the first writer to be critical of Maecenas, although that honour seems to belong to Horace, who was not shy of pointing out weaknesses in his friend.
- 150 App. *B Civ.* 4.50 (Extract 103). Levick (2010, 174) suggests that the evidence may have been very flimsy. ‘Either there was something in the “plot” or Octavian blatantly caused Maecenas to rid him of the inconvenient young aristocrat, a redundant pawn or hostage, as R, Syme baldly called him (1986, 35)’.
- 151 Avallone (1962, 20).
- 152 Avallone (1962, 20); Byrne (2000, 25–6); Osgood (2006, 323). Gutsfeld in *NP* (2007, 11.757–8), however, states that the *praefectus praetorio* was not established by Augustus until 2 BC and (760) that the *praefectus urbi* was reintroduced by Augustus (without a date), but only made permanent by Tiberius. This would suggest that Maecenas could not have held either position.
- 153 Porphyrius *Commentarii in Q Horatium Flaccum ad Carm.* 3.29.25 (Extract 144).
- 154 Syme (1939, 292) with a reference to Cass. Dio 51.3.5 (Extract 132).
- 155 Byrne (2000, 25–6).
- 156 Osgood (2006, 323).

- 157 Blond (1994, 90).
- 158 Buchan (1937, 112).
- 159 Syme (1939, 347).
- 160 Cass. Dio 51.3.6. (Extract 132).
- 161 Plin. *HN* 37.10. (Extract 67).
- 162 Syme (1939, 233).
- 163 Verg. *A.* 1.148–153.
- 164 Mountford (1987). I discussed Virgil's use of similes and listed them all. This was work which I had done for my students at Repton in the late 60s. I broke the similes up into similar groups, the vast majority of which are connected to nature. This simile always seemed out of place compared to the rest. See Mountford (2017) for a fuller discussion of this suggestion.
- 165 Austin in his commentary on *Aeneid* 1 (1971) believes that the simile may refer to an actual event, but he suggests that it refers to an incident involving the praetor Cato in 54 BC. (see Plut. *Cato Minor* 44). MacLennan (2010) expands on this idea in his commentary on *Aeneid* 1. There is discussion of this simile in Coffey (1961, 63ff); Pöschl (1962, 34ff); Otis (1963, 229ff); Hornsby (1970, 19–21). Virgil would have been sixteen at the time of the Cato incident. It is most unlikely that he was in Rome by then. He may well have been in Rome, however, in 36 BC, when Maecenas was sent to calm unrest in the city.
- 166 There are, of course, other ways in which to interpret this simile, as is natural when commentators approach any work of literature. Cairns (1989, 94–5) does not think that the simile refers to a particular event, although he states that the mob may be symbolic of Antony and the man of piety symbolic of Augustus. The problem with this interpretation is that Augustus did not restore peace in the way in which the simile states. Perkell (1999, 37–9) makes the very important point that this is the only instance in the *Aeneid* when an action involving *furor* (the mob) is not defeated by a similar act of *furor*. Griffin (2002, 76–7) makes the important point that this first simile of the *Aeneid* reverses the normal Homeric model, since a natural event is likened to a political event rather than vice versa as in *Iliad* 2.144. Hardie (1998, 92) writes that 'the very first simile ... suggests a way of reading the mythological and legendary narrative of the poem as historical allegory'.
- 167 Le Doze (2014, 63). See Hor. *Carm.* 1.20 (Extract 20).
- 168 Syme (1939, 346) does suggest this when he writes: 'It was hardly to be expected that the qualities requisite for a ruler of the world should be all found in one man. A triumvirate was ready to hand, in the complementary figures of Augustus, Maecenas and Agrippa'.
- 169 See for example Vell. Pat. 2.88 (Extract 45).
- 170 Extract 46.
- 171 Suet. *Aug.* 72.2. (Extract 99).
- 172 Buchan (1937, 134).
- 173 Millar (1964, 102–17). See also Blond (1994, 95); Beacham in Galinsky (ed.) (2005, 151); Everitt (2006, 221); Eck (2007, 46–7); Levick (2010, 18); Clark (2010, 88); Goldsworthy (2014, 229).
- 174 Fishwick (1990, 267–75).
- 175 Lomas (1996, 114).
- 176 Clark (2010, 88).
- 177 Eck (2007, 46).
- 178 Extract 133.
- 179 Everitt (2006, 290).
- 180 Vell. Pat. 2.91.2
- 181 Strabo 14.

- 182 Tac. *Ann.* 1.10.
- 183 Sen. *Clem.* 1.9.6; Sen. *Dial. De Brev. Vit.* 4.5.
- 184 Suet. *Aug.* 66.1–3. (Extract 98).
- 185 Suet. *Tib.* 8.
- 186 Cass. Dio 54.3.4–5. (Extract 134).
- 187 Southern (1998, 74).
- 188 Levick (2010, 100–3).
- 189 Suet. *Aug.* 66 1–4 (Extract 98).
- 190 Cass. Dio 54.3.4–5 (Extract 134).
- 191 For example: Earl (1968, 69); Syme (1986, 389); Everitt (2006, 229), 258; Clark (2010, 94).
- 192 Le Doze (2014, 95) argues that Suetonius is not to be believed on this issue.
- 193 Tac. *Ann.* 14.55 (Extract 88). Charlesworth in *OCD* (1949, 876–7) argues that Tacitus relied on now non-existent sources, such as Aufidius Rufus, and his own experiences. Sharrock and Ash (2002, 350–8) suggest that he used unknown earlier historians together with *acta senatus* and surviving speeches and memoirs of subjects.
- 194 Tac. *Ann.* 3.30. (Extract 85).
- 195 Cass. Dio 54.19.3 and 54.19.6. (Extracts 137 and 138).
- 196 For example: Earl (1968, 69); Syme (1986, 389); Everitt (2006, 229, 258); Clark (2010, 94).
- 197 Cass. Dio 54.19.3 and 54.19.6. (Extracts 137 and 138).
- 198 Williams (1990, 258–175); Southern (1998, 74); Levick (2010, 173ff); Richardson (2012, 103–4) and Goldsworthy (2014, 281) do not say that he fell from favour.
- 199 Levi (1997, 62).
- 200 Syme (1986, 389).
- 201 Earl (1968, 69).
- 202 Everitt (2006, 229).
- 203 Williams (1990, 258–75).
- 204 Williams (1990, 259), citing Syme (1986, 342).
- 205 Cornelius Gallus had served with Octavian in Egypt and had been left in charge of the newly acquired province. He began to suffer from delusions of grandeur. He was prosecuted and convicted for acting beyond his powers, and, when he lost the support of Augustus, committed suicide.
- 206 Williams (1990, 259).
- 207 Williams (1990, 259–60).
- 208 Williams (1990, 261).
- 209 Sen. *Con.* 2.4.12–13. (Extract 39). Cass. Dio 54.30.4–5. (Extract 139). Cass. Dio 55.7. (Extract 140).
- 210 Williams (1990, 262).
- 211 Le Doze (2014, 94).
- 212 Williams (1968, 87–8).
- 213 Williams (1990, 273).
- 214 Southern mentions Williams' argument without acknowledging the source (Southern (1998, 74) and seems to agree with it.
- 215 Levick (2010, 177); Richardson (2012, 102).
- 216 Harrison (2014, 12).
- 217 Le Doze (2014, 200).
- 218 Chillet (2016, 374–8).
- 219 Le Doze (2014, 85).
- 220 Chillet (2016, 133–6).
- 221 Reinhold (1933, 66) writes

Maecenas and Agrippa were, in every respect, antithetical personalities. The one was the descendant of Etruscan kings, a shrewd statesman, a patron of poets, indolent, and lacking in ambition for honours; the other was of obscure origin, a “self-made man”, a brilliant general, indifferent to poetry, extremely active, and obviously ambitious.

- 222 See above 59–61.
- 223 An example of her role as a giver of good advice is Seneca *Clem.* 1.9.6.
- 224 Southern (1998, 74).
- 225 Sen. *Controv.* 2.4.12 (Extract 39). Syme (1986, 44) suggests that the *gentilicium* Vipsanius came from Venetia or Istria. Kienast (*NP* 1.391, 2008) suggest the Illyrian or Dalmatian area. It has also been suggested that it comes from the area round Pisa – see Hall (1982, 1984b), Palmer (1983) and Wilhelm (1992).
- 226 See above fn.221.
- 227 Suet. *Verg.* 44. (Extract 96); Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 10.180 (Extract 151).
- 228 Cass. Dio 52.14–41. (Extract 133).
- 229 Syme (1939, 129).
- 230 Syme (1939, 341–2). Syme (389) also refers to Maecenas as ‘his enemy’.
- 231 Potter (2008, 44). Grant (1965, 13) writes ‘Chief among the friends whom he [Augustus] needed to help him in his vast task were the unfailingly competent Agrippa, almost co-regent, and the debauched but watchful Maecenas’.
- 232 Everitt (2006, 204). He seems to be following Syme almost word for word here.
- 233 Everitt (2006, 205). This, too, seems to be highly dependent on Syme.
- 234 Armstrong (2010, 27).
- 235 Le Doze (2014, 93) concurs with this view.
- 236 See Galinsky (2005b, 307–9, 312–6, 326, 328); Harrison (2005, 47, 50–2, 108, 178–80, 352–4); Kleiner (2005, 56–7); Everitt (2006, 141, 213, 249); Osgood (2006, 109, 143, 245, 379); Clark (2010, 113–17); Levick (2010, 259); Lintott (2010, 82); Richardson (2012, 214–17).
- 237 Syme (1939, 412).
- 238 For example: Hor. *Epod.* 1 (Extract 11); Prop. 2.1; 3.9 (Extracts 34, 37).
- 239 Highet (1959, 111–12).
- 240 Sørensen (1984, 64).
- 241 Roman (2014, 163ff).
- 242 Roman (2014, 165).
- 243 See White (2005, 329) and Schmidt in *NP* 8, 108–11.
- 244 Anderson (2010) doubts that there was a Maecenas circle. He sees Horace at the centre of a group of friendship. Le Doze (2014, 230) argues against the use of the term ‘circle’ and prefers the idea of a ‘network’.
- 245 Roman (2014, 163–6).
- 246 Roman (2014) 166.
- 247 It has been suggested in this chapter that Virgil also subtly refers to his patron in the first simile of the *Aeneid* (1.148–153).
- 248 Verg. *G.* 1.2. (Extract 1).
- 249 Verg. *G.* 2.41; 3.41; 4.2. (Extracts 2, 3 and 4).
- 250 Suet. *Verg.* 20. (Extract 93).
- 251 Suet. *Verg.* 27. (Extract 94).
- 252 Suet. *Verg.* 37. (Extract 95). He left Maecenas a twelfth of his estate.
- 253 The relationship between Maecenas and Virgil is discussed in Chapter 2.
- 254 Osgood (2006, 109). Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.54–5 (Extract 8).
- 255 Sen. *Suas.* 1.12 and 2.20. (Extracts 42 and 43).
- 256 Sen. *Suas.* 3.5. (Extract 44).

- 257 *Laus Pis.* 236–45, especially 238–40 *Maecenas tragico quatientem pulpit gestu / erexit Varium, Maecenas alta tonantis/ eruit et populis ostendit nomina Graiis.* 'Maecenas brought to fame Varius who shook the stage with his tragic gestures and revealed the lofty name of the thundering poet even to Greek peoples'.
- 258 Mart. 12.3.1–2. (Extract 75).
- 259 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.45–64. (Extract 8).
- 260 Verg. *E* 9.35f; Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.43f (Extract 10).
- 261 Macrob. *Sat.* 6.1.39 and 40, and 6.2.19 and 20.
- 262 Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.1–4.
- 263 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.98; Tac. *Dial.* 12.6; Mart. 8.18.77.
- 264 Rüpke in *NP* 15 (2010, 207).
- 265 The relationship between Horace and Maecenas is examined in further detail in Chapter 3.
- 266 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.45–64. (Extract 8).
- 267 Osgood (2006, 246 and 284).
- 268 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.62–4. (Extract 8); Pseudo-Acron *ad Sat.* 1.6. (Extract 113).
- 269 Hor. *Carm.* 2.17. (Extract 22); Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.17 (Extract 124).
- 270 Suet. *Vita Hor.* (Extract 95).
- 271 Hor. *Carm.* 1.1. (Extract 19).
- 272 Hor. *Carm.* 3.16 and 3.29. (Extracts 26 and 27).
- 273 Hor. *Carm.* 3.29. (Extract 27).
- 274 Hor. *Epod.* 1.1–4. (Extract 11).
- 275 Suet. *Vita Hor.* (Extract 92).
- 276 Hor. *Epod.* 9. (Extract 13).
- 277 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.45–64. (Extract 8).
- 278 There is more detailed discussion of the relationship between Propertius and Maecenas in Chapter 4. Evidence of the relationship can be found in Extracts 35 and 37.
- 279 Prop. 3.9.21–34. (Extract 37).
- 280 Prop. 3.9.1–9. (Extract 36).
- 281 The question of Maecenas' lack of ambition is discussed below on p. 84–85.
- 282 Prop. 3.9.57–60. (Extract 38).
- 283 Propertius and his poems are discussed in Chapter 4. It is sufficient here simply to make a brief summary.
- 284 Prop. 2.1.27–36. (Extract 34).
- 285 Mart. 1.107; 8.56 and 11.3; Juv. 7.94–7. (Extracts 70, 72, 74 and 82).
- 286 *Laus Pis.* 230–48. (Extract 69). Some scholars believe that the poet is Lucan e.g. Ullman (1929).
- 287 Roman (2014, 173) citing Cairns (2006, 265ff).
- 288 Griffin (2005, 314).
- 289 Griffin (2005, 312).
- 290 Osgood (2006, 246).
- 291 Griffin (2005, 314).
- 292 Osgood (2006, 346).
- 293 Griffin (2005, 306).
- 294 Goldsworthy (2014, 309).
- 295 Griffin (2005, 314); Osgood (2006, 246).
- 296 Tac. *Dial.* 26. (Extract 90).
- 297 Suet. *Aug.* 86.2. (Extract 100).
- 298 Macr. 2.4.12 (Extract 157).
- 299 Most can be found in Courtney (1993, 276–81). If, of course, the arguments of the introduction are valid, there is also the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, a poem of 474 lines of elegiac couplets.

- 300 Sen. *Ep.* 19.9. (Extract 50).
 301 Servius *Commentary on Vergil Georgics* 2.41. (Extract 154).
 302 Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.9–12 (Extract 21); Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.12. (Extract 123).
 303 Avallone (1962, 128).
 304 Schmidt in *NP* (2006, 8, 108–11).
 305 Servius *Commentary on Vergil Aeneid* 8.130. (Extract 155).
 306 Plin. *HN* 9.24. (Extract 64); Solin. 12.8 (Extract 143).
 307 Plin. *HN* 1.1 (Extracts 58, 59 and 60).
 308 Schmidt in *NP* (2006, 8, 108–11).
 309 There are eighteen examples of his prose or verse to be found in Appendix A. They are: Caesius Bassus (Extracts 48 and 49); The Younger Seneca (Extracts 50, 51, 52, 53); Quintilian (Extract 68); Suetonius (Extract 91); Servius (Extract 155); Charisius (Extract 156); Priscian (Extract 159); Isidorus (Extract 161). As an aside, it is interesting that both Censorinus (Extract 145) in the third century AD and Victorinus (Extract 146) in the fourth century AD use Maecenas as an example of a foot of three long syllables known as a molossus. His name and reputation are clearly still in mind.
 310 Courtney (1993).
 311 Bas. *de metris* 4. 8–17. (Extracts 48 and 49).
 312 Sen. *Ep.* 19.9. (Extract 50).
 313 Macenas may well have been producing a variation of Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.10–12 as Avallone (1962, 166) suggests.
 314 Sen. *Ep.* 114.4–8. (Extract 53).
 315 Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.29.
 316 Gel. 12.2.1.
 317 Fro. *De Orat.* 3.
 318 West (1998, 122).
 319 Quint. *Inst.* 9.4.28. (Extract 68).
 320 Quintilian *Institutio Oratoria* trans. Russell, D.A. Loeb Classical Library (Harvard University Press 2001) Vol 4, 174–7. I believe that it should be translated as ‘Very many things glow red in the dawn sun’. (Extract 65).
 321 Avallone (1962, 275).
 322 Avallone (1962, 269–70) discusses this problem. He states that *se* was added to the original line by Holm to overcome this problem. He believes that the addition is unnecessary since *movit* is used intransitively by Livy, Suetonius, Gellius, Seneca and Silius Italicus. For example, Livy 35.40 uses the word intransitively for an earthquake.
 323 Hor. *Carm.* 1.5. *quis multa gracilis te puer in rosas perfusus liquidis urget odoribus grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?*
 324 Verg. *A.* 8.96. *arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequare silvas.*
 325 Verg. *A.* 8.32. *populeas inter senior se attollere frondes.* Cicero in *In Verrem* 5.171 separates an accusative object from the verb of which it is the object by no less than forty-two words. Also in *In Verrem* 5.160 he separates the subject from the main verb by fifty-seven words.
 326 Avallone (1962, 275ff). He considers that the first two examples may be from *de Cultu Suo* and the third from a letter.
 327 Avallone (1962, 270–5).
 328 Suet. *Vita Hor.* (Extract 92).
 329 Suet. *Verg.* 44. (Extract 96).
 330 Isid. *Etym.* 19.32.6. (Extract 161).
 331 Macr. 2.4.12. (Extract 157).
 332 Mozley (1929, ix).
 333 *Eleg. Maec.* (Extract 46).

- 334 *Eleg. Maec.* (Extract 46). *Sen. Ep.* 120.19. (Extract 54).
- 335 *Eleg. Maec.* (Extract 46). *Sen. Ep.* 114.4–8. (Extract 53).
- 336 *Mart.* 10.73.4. (Extract 73).
- 337 *Vell. Pat.* 2.88 (Extract 45); *Sen. Ep.* 114.4–8 (Extract 53); *Macr.* 2.4.12 (Extract 157).
- 338 *Tac. Ann.* 1.54 (Extract 84). Lyne (2007, 331) considers that *Epode* 14 allows Horace to make allusions to the love affair between Maecenas and Bathyllus. Goldsworthy (2014, 328) refers to Bathyllus as Maecenas ‘lover’ and (332), without supporting evidence, claims that Maecenas, in spite of being married, seems ‘to have been more interested in male lovers’.
- 339 *Sen. Ep.* 120.19 (Extract 54); yet the first anonymous elegy praises the simplicity of his life.
- 340 *Hor. Sat.* 2.8 (Extract 18); *Plut. Mor.* 760 (Extract 79).
- 341 *Plin. HN* 8.170. (Extract 63).
- 342 *Hor. Sat.* 2.8. (Extract 18).
- 343 *Plin. HN* 14.67. (Extract 65).
- 344 *Plut. Mor.* Fragment 180. (Extract 80).
- 345 *Juv.* 1.63–8 (Extract 81).
- 346 *Sen. Ep.* 92.35. (Extract 51).
- 347 *Sen. Ep.* 101.11 (Extract 52).
- 348 Bittarello (2009). The main summary of her case and my refutation of it are to be found in Appendix C. At this point it is sufficient to make a brief summary.
- 349 Avallone (1962, 27).
- 350 *Suet. Gram.* 21. (Extract 97).
- 351 *Mart.* 8.56, 11.3, 12.3; *Juv.* 7.94–7 (Extracts 72, 74, 75 and 82).
- 352 *Tac. Ann.* 3.30, 6.11, 14.53 (Extracts 85, 86 and 87).
- 353 *Tac. Ann.* 3.30. (Extract 85).
- 354 *Suet. Aug.* 66. (Extract 98).
- 355 *Cass. Dio* 55.7.1–6. (Extract 140).
- 356 See for example *Cass. Dio* 54.6.4–5. (Extract 135) and 55.7.1–6 (Extract 140).
- 357 Wilson (2015) points out that the *Apocolocyntosis*, which especially mocks the idea that emperors became gods posthumously, acts to compare the new Neronian rule favourably when compared to that of Claudius. She also sees a serious side to the mockery, as Seneca is able to use it to try to show Nero how to avoid the pitfalls of the Claudian period. She argues that the *Apocolocyntosis* and the *de Clementia* (written soon afterwards) were designed by Seneca to illustrate the ideology of Neronian rule. She sees Seneca’s aim at this period of Nero’s rule as not so much a moral one as one designed to remove Nero from the influence of Agrippina and increase his own power over the emperor. It seems, however, that Seneca’s advice is offered in subtle ways rather than in the forthright manner reported of Maecenas.
- 358 Byrne (1999, 37).
- 359 Sharrock and Ash (2002, 303).
- 360 *Plin. HN* 7.172. (Extract 62).
- 361 *Sen. Prov.* 1.3.10–11. (Extract 55).
- 362 Health.facty.com/malaria/symptoms accessed 4.45 pm on 01/01/2018.
- 363 Syme (1939, 409) (based on *Sen. Ep.* 101.10ff) writes:

When life ebbed along with power, the descendant of kings who had led to battle the legions of Etruria surrendered to self-pity and the horror of death. The better sort of Roman voluptuary waited for the end with fortitude and faced it like a soldier.

364 See, for example, Everitt (2006, 290); Richardson (2012, 141–2).

365 *Eleg. Maec.* (Extract 47).

366 Suet. *Vita Hor.* (Extract 92). Goldsworthy (2014, 382) notes his death in this way:

[Maecenas died.] Maecenas' activities had always been largely behind the scenes, unmarked by formal rank or office. Perhaps his influence had diminished in the last few years, but as a source of advice and honest opinion he remained important. Like his life, his death passed without great fanfare, but Augustus benefited as his heir.

367 See also Galinsky (2005b, 322); Everitt (2006, 290); Richardson (2012, 141–2).

368 Cass. Dio. 55.7.1–6. (Extract 140).

369 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* VI 4016, 4032, 4095, 19926, 22970.

370 *OCD* (1949, 555); *NP* 8 (2006, 636).

371 'effeminate hedonist'; 'antic and grotesque' and 'the foibles of the aesthete and the foppishness of the *petit maître*': Buchan (1937, 183); 'sinister': Syme (1939, 341) and (1986, 80); 'devious': Syme (1986, 360); 'vicious, but uxorious': Syme (1939, 452); 'debauched, but watchful': Grant (1965, 13); 'Goebbels': Blond (1994, 90).

372 Meibomius (1653, 185–6).

373 Schomberg (1748, 85–90).

374 Schomberg (1748, 86).

375 Syme (1939, 341–2, 409, 452, 1986, 80, 360).

376 Avallone (1962).

377 Avallone (1962, 27, 60–1 and 68).

378 Barker (*OCD* 1949, 828) is scathing in his assessment of Seneca which can only be quoted at length:

Seneca's character, with its lamentable rift between principle and practice in crises, is sometimes pronounced detestable. He preached detachment and was conspicuously a money-maker; defiance of circumstance, yet whined in Corsica and crawled before Polybius; contempt for death and pain, yet, till finally trapped, evaded them by flagrant complaisance. He could vent spite, or curry favour, or both by clever sniggering at a dead and by no means contemptible emperor, yet five years later connives supinely at more than common murder by a vicious living one. With all this he affects the moral guide. Such is briefly the indictment. It may be observed, first, that most neurotics are superficially detestable either to a small or a large audience, but that the causes are preponderantly beyond their control, the problem more clinical than moral, and detestation irrelevant; second, that Seneca's life and works present a fairly clear-cut picture of neurosis... Everywhere are traceable the erratic ability and the limitations which are common stigmata of paranoiac abnormality. Abnormal his character is; not devoid of a disfigured greatness in its mutilation, and one which it is more profitable to understand than to condemn unconditionally.

More recent commentators like Emily Wilson (2015) try to explain and account for these failings in Seneca. Yet Reynolds, Griffin and Elaine Fantham in *OCD* (2012, 92–5) comment:

and as a man he has continued to be criticised as a hypocrite as he was in antiquity: he preached the unimportance of wealth but did not surrender

his until the end; he compromised the principles he preached by flattering those in power and by condoning many of Nero's crimes.

- 379 Griffin (1992, 211).
- 380 Cass. Dio. 54.6.4–5.
- 381 Southern (1998, 73).
- 382 Kleiner (2005, 56–7).
- 383 Farney (2007, 132–3).
- 384 Farney (2007, 166–7).

One can detect Roman prejudice against another individual Etruscan, the Augustan magnate Gaius Maecenas, this time charging him with his group's stereotypical reputation for decadence and effeminacy. Livy says that the Cilnii (Maecenas' mother's family, if not his father's) had long been powerful in Arretium and were famous for their fabulous wealth. As a result, in addition to the nature of his power in Augustus' reign, all of our sources about Maecenas center their interest on two things; his noble Etruscan origins and his addiction to living the good life. Our sources [Farney quotes Seneca, Juvenal, Martial, Suetonius, Pliny the Elder, Horace, Dio and Tacitus.] emphasise his decadence – his extravagant wardrobe and personal habits, his gourmet meals, his conveyance through the city in a litter, and his opulent estate and gardens on the Esquiline Hill. They also make use of the familiar effeminate and sexually depraved image of Etruscans, frequently comparing his soft lifestyle to that of a woman. Further, they emphasise his torrid relationship with a beautiful actor named Bathyllus, and even evoke the familiar stereotype of an Etruscan man interested in adultery and exhibitionism. To complete the picture, rumour had it that Maecenas was dominated by his beautiful and difficult wife Terentia. Most of our sources on Maecenas' *τροφή* (effeminacy) cluster in the few generations following his death: he became the paragon of the soft-living man, especially useful for moralists like the younger Seneca who frequently notes Maecenas and his notorious reputation in his writings. These writers must be indebted to contemporary writers and rivals who knew Maecenas well and did not approve of his behaviour, and who were perhaps ready to embellish his reputation and tie it to his Etruscan origin.

- 385 Cass. Dio 54.17.4–5 (Extract 136); Sen. *Controv.* 10 Praefatio 8 (Extract 41).
- 386 Goodman (1997, 166).
- 387 Bittarello (2009, 211–33). Her case is summarised together with my rejection of her arguments in Appendix C.
- 388 Bittarello (2009, 219).
- 389 Le Doze (2014, 92) points out that, while the fall of Gallus and Salvidienus Rufus was due to ambition, Maecenas had none.
- 390 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.49–52 (Extract 8); Vell. Pat. 2.88 (extract 45); *Eleg. Maec.* 1. 31–7 (extract 46); Tac. *Ann.* 3.30 (Extract 85); Cass. Dio 55.7.1–6 (Extract 140).
- 391 Syme (1939, 359) writes:

In brief, Augustus' design was to make public life safe, reputable and attractive. Encouragement was seldom required before the Roman knight was willing to exchange the security and the profits of his own existence for the pomp, the extravagance and the dangers of the senatorial life; of which very rational distaste both Augustus' own equestrian grandfather and his friends Maecenas and Proculeius furnished palpable evidence. Again, it often happened that only one son of a municipal family chose to enter the Senate.

- 392 Le Doze (2014, 103–12).

- 393 André (1967, 97) perhaps overstates the positive role of Maecenas, when he writes that Maecenas' role as literary patron was so important that without him there would have been no 'Augustan Age'. Poets would still have produced their work and other patrons would have supported them. It is true, however, that Maecenas gathered together under his wing some of the greatest Roman poets and supported the flourishing of their poetry.
- 394 Syme (1986, 71).

2 Publius Vergilius Maro

This chapter concentrates on Virgil, the eldest of the three poets and the first to come under the patronage of Maecenas. The chapter is particularly interested in why Virgil chose the *Aeneid* for his Augustan epic. The views of a series of scholars who have argued that the origin of the legend of Aeneas is in Latium are discussed.¹ The chapter argues that these scholars seem to ignore or dismiss the possibility that the legend had its origins in Etruria, and especially ignore the evidence of Greek vases from southern Etruria which portray Aeneas escaping Troy. The chapter suggests that the Etruscan legend of Aeneas and that of his ancestor Dardanus were known to Virgil and Maecenas and that this may have influenced the choice of Aeneas as hero for Virgil's epic. Although there is no primary evidence to support such musings, there must have been discussion between Virgil and Maecenas about the possible format of the panegyric in honour of Octavian, which Virgil had announced in the introduction to the third *Georgic*.² Previous patrons of poets, such as the Scipios, had expected the poet to compose a poem which praised their achievements, but Maecenas, as patron, clearly did not expect Virgil to praise his achievements. It may well be, however, that Octavian hoped for praise of his achievements and that Maecenas, on his behalf, had suggested this. Virgil, however, seems to have been determined to write an epic of Homeric proportions. The problem was how to satisfy this desire while honouring Octavian at the same time. Discussion must have turned to the claim of the Julian family to be descended from Venus through Aeneas and Iulus/Ascanius. This discussion might have reminded either Virgil or Maecenas, or both of them, of the Etruscan legend of Aeneas, which Virgil then skilfully linked to the legend of a Latin origin. Hall argues that Virgil responded with great skill to those challenges, because 'the *Aeneid* is very effective in ending five centuries of mythological conflict by reconciling the variant accounts of Rome's foundation;' by its 'skilful linking and subordination of the popular Latin/Alban traditions of the city's origin to the long abandoned and almost forgotten Etruscan/Trojan version of Aeneas' founding of Rome'. He considers that he deserves to be called '*vates Etruscus*'.³

The chapter also considers the strong Etruscan element in the second half of the *Aeneid*, a fact which is persuasively argued by Wilhelm.⁴ The conclusion is

that the Etruscan legend is not one which can be so easily dismissed by scholars and has as much validity as an origin in Latium.

His early life

Much more is known about the major events of the life of Virgil than about those of Horace and Propertius thanks to Suetonius' *Vita Vergili*, the *Vita Donatiana* and the commentary of Servius. Neither these works nor Virgil's own poetry, however, tell us much about the way in which he lived from day to day. Publius Vergilius Maro was born at Andes near Mantua on 15 October 70 BC.⁵ His father was of humble origins, perhaps a potter or a smallholder, thanks to his father-in-law Magius, on whose land he may have worked as a hired hand before his marriage.⁶ Hall, however, argues that his father Vergilius was of Etruscan lineage, and that family members had been magistrates in Mantua and had thus become Roman citizens.⁷ Hall also argues that Virgil's family was made up of wealthy landowners rather than smallholders. He follows Schulze in claiming that the name Vergilius has its origins in the Etruscan *vercna* and that Maro undoubtedly has Etruscan origins in *maru*, 'an Etruscan word for a magistrate with combined civil and religious functions'. His mother Magia came from an Etruscan family. Suetonius tells us that he moved to Cremona, where he donned the *toga virilis* on his fifteenth birthday (15 October 55 BC.).⁸ From there he moved to Mediolanum (Milan) and thence to Rome, where he pursued his education. He studied rhetoric, philosophy and science. He was associated with the Epicurean community centred on Naples.⁹ All this suggests that there was family money which funded his education and accommodation. He is said to have begun writing poetry, his minor poems, as early as sixteen. Suetonius writes that his first major work, the *Eclogues*, was written to honour Asinius Pollio, Alfenus Varus and Cornelius Gallus, who saved him from ruin when the triumvirs were dividing land beyond the Po among veterans after Philippi in 42 BC.¹⁰ It is thought that he wrote the *Eclogues* at some time between 42 and 37, although Suetonius writes that he took only three years to compose them.¹¹ This information means that he was acquainted with important men in Roman society from some time before 42. Asinius Pollio, consul in 40, was a patron of the arts; Alfenus Varus, perhaps, like Virgil, from Cremona, was *consul suffectus* in 39; Cornelius Gallus, a supporter of and general under Augustus, and the first governor of Egypt in 30, was an important writer of love elegy.

His meeting with Maecenas

Virgil wrote the *Georgics* between 36 and 29. Suetonius tells us that it took him seven years to compose them and that he read the *Georgics* to Augustus with help from Maecenas at Atella near Naples in the summer of 29, when Augustus finally returned from the east. According to Suetonius, he dedicated

this work to Maecenas, because he had intervened to save his life when he was having an argument with a veteran soldier about his farm.¹² Either Maecenas intervened in a dispute between Virgil and the veteran in Rome, or he had travelled with him to Andes and the argument took place there. If they travelled to Virgil's farm, this would have been a notable gesture from Maecenas, who was so busily engaged in negotiations with Antony during this period, especially the journey to Brundisium undertaken in 37 in the company of Virgil and Horace. It is thought, therefore, that Virgil came under the patronage of Maecenas in 38 before the journey to Brundisium.¹³ It is highly likely, however, that, as they were about the same age, they had met and become friends during their study of rhetoric or philosophy in Rome. As it seems certain that Horace was introduced to Maecenas by Virgil and Varius, established members of Maecenas' circle, in 38 BC, it seems much more likely that Virgil became acquainted with Maecenas and came under his patronage well before 38 BC, earlier than Osgood suggests.¹⁴ It suggests that the *Eclogues* were completed by 39 BC at the latest.

Suetonius writes that Virgil was shy and retiring, shunning appearances in public.¹⁵ Suetonius also tells us that he owned a house near to that of Maecenas on the Esquiline, although he preferred to live in either Campania or Sicily.¹⁶ There is no written evidence to confirm that this house on the Esquiline was bought with his own funds or through the generosity of Maecenas, although its position close to Maecenas on the Esquiline suggests the latter. Nor is there evidence of this kind for places where he lived in Sicily and on the Bay of Naples. If all were gifts from Maecenas, he had much to be grateful for to him. Through Maecenas he met and befriended Octavian. We know that he read the whole of the *Georgics* to Octavian, with the help of Maecenas, over four days at Atella, where Octavian was resting on his return journey from his victory at Actium.¹⁷ In all four books Virgil addresses Maecenas as his patron.¹⁸ In the proem to the third *Georgic* (lines 8–39) he makes clear that Augustus is destined to be the focus of a panegyric epic which he will soon begin.

He wrote the *Aeneid* between 30 or 29 and 19. We know from Servius that he read three books to Augustus and his family, and that Octavia fainted when he read the passage about Marcellus in Book 6.¹⁹ In 19 he set off to Greece and Asia Minor to spend three years revising and completing his great epic. In Athens, however, he met Augustus and decided to return to Italy with him. Unfortunately he caught a fever, but decided to continue his journey. His condition worsened and he died at Brundisium on 21 September 19 BC.²⁰ He was buried in a tomb overlooking the Bay of Naples, where he had spent much of his adult life. He is said to have had a fortune of ten million sesterces. He left half his estate to his half-brother, Valerius Proculus, a quarter to Augustus, and a twelfth to each of Maecenas, Lucius Varius and Plotius Tucca.²¹ Before he left Italy, he had instructed Varius to burn the unrevised *Aeneid*. Fortunately, Augustus was able to persuade Varius not to do so and the epic was published with some minor emendations.²²

This chapter turns now to the question of why Virgil chose Aeneas as the hero of his epic and what previous stories existed concerning Aeneas which may have influenced him. It examines whether any clear influences on his choice of hero can be seen, and whether, for example, the relationship between Maecenas and Virgil had any influence on the choice of the *Aeneid* as the topic for an epic to honour Augustus.²³ The chapter considers possible influences which may have had some bearing upon Virgil's choice, such as the origins of the Aeneas myth in literary sources and in the decoration of Attic vases which have been found in Etruria. It examines whether the existence of an interest in the story of Aeneas in Etruria is of significance, how that story may have migrated to Rome and whether that may be of greater significance than the claim made by the likes of Alföldi, Horsfall and Galinsky that the myth of Aeneas migrated to Rome from Lavinium.²⁴

The Aeneas myth in the classical sources²⁵

Homer gives a reason for Aeneas surviving the fall of Troy. During the duel between Achilles and Aeneas, Poseidon says that Aeneas will not die at Troy, as he and his descendants will rule the men of Troy.²⁶ He does not say where he will rule them and does not mention any kingdom in Hesperia. Aeneas is mentioned in other poems of the Epic Cycle. In a fragment of *Cypria*, Aeneas, with his wife Eurydice (Kreousa), took refuge in Troy after Achilles had raided his cattle.²⁷ In *Iliu Persis* Aeneas and his family left Troy before the sack.²⁸ Hesiod in the *Theogony* states that Aeneas was the son of Anchises and Aphrodite, but he also states that the children of Odysseus ruled the Tyrrhenians.²⁹ The picture from Homer and the poems of the Epic Cycle is confused, but there is a suggestion that Aeneas did not die in Troy like all the other Trojan heroes.

There is then a considerable gap from the eighth to the mid-sixth century BC when Stesichorus mentions that there was a Troy in the west.³⁰ Although this is the first text to mention the western migration of the Trojan refugees, Stesichorus is not mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his survey of the Aeneas legend.³¹ In the fifth century a fragment of Hellanicus states that Rome was a foundation of Aeneas, but later Ascanius returned to Troy to settle.³² A century later the historian Timaeus, who had visited the sanctuary of the Penates at Lavinium, wrote that Rome was a foundation of Aeneas, but he put the foundation at the same time as the foundation of Carthage (814 BC).³³ In the third century BC the Greek Lycophron, who worked in the library at Alexandria and presumably had access to many works which no longer survive, wrote that Aeneas came from Macedonia to Etruria by land and from there went to Latium via Caere.³⁴ This is the earliest source which suggests that Aeneas' arrival in Italy took this course. It is possible that Virgil made use of this source when including the meeting with Tarchon near Caere in *Aeneid* 9.10ff. That Virgil was familiar with Lycophron's text is strengthened by the fact that

Lycophron writes of Aeneas eating his table (1250 *cf. Aeneid* 7.116) and the story of the sow with thirty piglets (1254–5 *cf. Aeneid* 3.389f; 8.42ff).³⁵

The earliest known Roman writer to mention the story is Naevius in his *Bellum Punicum* in the third century BC.³⁶ Because of the fragmentary nature of the remains of Naevius, we have to rely on Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* for further knowledge of what the *Bellum Punicum* included.³⁷ Servius suggests that Naevius linked the Trojans to the foundation of Rome and made Romulus the grandson of Aeneas. Ennius, in the late third and early second century BC wrote that Aeneas' daughter Ilia married Tiber.³⁸ He, too, made Romulus the grandson of Aeneas. Cato, writing his *Origines* in the second century BC, gave the date of Rome's foundation as 751 BC. He seems to have introduced Lavinia, Amata, Turnus and Mezentius into the Aeneas legend.³⁹ Sallust in the first century BC stated that Rome was founded by the Trojans under Aeneas, joined by the Aborigines of the area.⁴⁰

Livy, in the second half of the first century BC, wrote that Antenor and Aeneas had been spared at the fall of Troy, because they had advocated the return of Helen. After the fall of Troy, Aeneas wandered via Macedonia and Sicily to Laurentine territory. There, whether after a war or not, Aeneas made peace with Latinus and married his daughter, Lavinia. This led to war with the Rutulians, who were defeated, in spite of the death of King Latinus. Turnus and the Rutulians appealed for help to Mezentius, king of a flourishing and powerful Etruscan people. The Latins won the ensuing battle, but Aeneas was killed. Lavinia acted as guardian for Ascanius until he was old enough. He gave Lavinium to his stepmother Lavinia and established a new city at Alba Longa, from where, in the fullness of time, Romulus emerged to found Rome. Finally in the second half of the first century BC Virgil wrote the *Aeneid*, which established the version of the legend which is best known to us today. In his story Aeneas settled in Lavinium after marrying Lavinia, the daughter of the local king Latinus. From there his son Ascanius (Iulus) moved the settlement to Alba Longa, from where, many years later, his descendant Romulus founded Rome.

At the same time Dionysius of Halicarnassus researched and published his *Roman Antiquities*, a history of Rome from mythological times to the beginning of the First Punic War in 264 BC. In Book 1.45–70 he gives his lengthy version of the escape of Aeneas from Troy and his establishment of a Trojan settlement in Latium. He writes that the Trojans arrived at Laurentum fifty-five years after Hercules left. The local king was Latinus, said to be the son of Faunus, but in reality the son of Hercules. Aeneas established a settlement at Lavinium and joined the native people in calling themselves Latins. In due course they moved to Alba and sixteen generations later established Rome. He gives a variety of sources for his information, most of which no longer exist. He was clearly involved in historical research and published this research after Virgil had died and the *Aeneid* had been published. He does not, however, refer to Virgil's version of the events at all, although he must have been aware of it. It should be remembered that Dionysius was intent on showing that Rome was

an offspring of Greek civilization. He gives several possible versions for Aeneas' role in the events of the fall of Troy, one of which suggests that Aeneas and Antenor opened the Scaean gates for the Greeks. Aeneas set out with his father, the rest of his sons and the images of the gods and sailed to the Thracian Chalcidice.⁴¹ He writes that this version of Aeneas' escape is that adopted by Hellanicus in his *Troica*.⁴² He also cites Sophocles' *Laocoon* as the source for Aeneas having left the city with his family for Mt Ida before the taking of the city.⁴³ Dionysius provides a long discussion of the wanderings of Aeneas in 1.49.4–1.53. For the most part his version of the wanderings is identical to that of Virgil's in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁴ He follows this with a long account of the way in which Aeneas settled in Latium with his family and followers. He differs from Virgil in that he makes the whole process last two years rather than Virgil's seven. He describes the way in which Aeneas made an alliance with king Latinus so that he could secure land for his city at Lavinium. The Trojans joined the Latins in their war against the Rutulians, which was quickly won. Latinus gave his daughter Lavinia as bride to Aeneas. Dionysius then goes on to explain how the Trojans were really Greeks. He claims that several authors had for a long time claimed that the Trojans were a truly Greek people with origins in the Peloponnese. Dardanus had come from Arcadia and migrated to the Troad when Arcadia suffered from severe floods.

Many of the sources which Dionysius quotes are no longer in existence and others are only preserved in fragments. Most of this material must have been available to Virgil, but it seems that he did not use it. His version, apart from the wanderings, is certainly different from that of Dionysius. His version of the adventures of Aeneas is the first complete form which we have. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to say to what extent, if any, he adopted ideas from his predecessors and whether he made use of Greek and Roman forerunners to develop his story. It is possible, however, that there was some other source for the idea that the origin of Rome can be traced to the Trojan Aeneas and this may be an Etruscan source. The evidence for suggesting that this is, in fact, the case may come from the *Aeneid* itself and from Greek vases found in southern Etruria.⁴⁵

The origin of the Etruscans

Spivey stated:

Etruscan specialists (to whom we shall refer in future as Etruscologists) are by and large agreed that the roots of Etruscan culture were indigenous; ancient theories of the foundation of Etruria by immigrants from the east are now usually discounted.⁴⁶

Beekes, in stark contrast, argues for an origin for the Etruscans in Asia Minor. Beekes refers to an article by Palmucci which argues that the story of Aeneas in Italy came after a version in which the Trojans journeyed to

Etruria.⁴⁷ This would be significant, as it would mean that the story was an Etruscan one which the Romans adopted from them.

Although Beekes is a linguist specializing in comparative Indo-European linguistics, he puts forward a number of arguments for his case (some of which are based on linguistics), which, when added together, make a compelling argument. The most important point that he makes is that scholars have misunderstood Herodotus, because Herodotus himself was confused. Herodotus wrote that the Etruscans came from Lydia under Tyrrhenus, son of Atys king of Lydia, when their homeland was suffering from famine.⁴⁸ For Herodotus, Lydia was inland from Smyrna. This confused both Herodotus and subsequent scholars. Beekes shows how, in the time of the Trojan War, Lydia was, in fact, further north, stretching south from the Propontis, with the Trojan sphere of interest on its western boundary. He shows how the word 'Tyrsenoi' applied to both the Etruscans and the people of the pre-historic area of Lydia. He also shows how the name 'Pelasgians' has added to the confusion. He claims that the Pelasgians came from Greece to Asia Minor and that in due course the name was applied to the Tyrsenoi in Asia Minor. As the Etruscans were also called Tyrsenoi, the name 'Pelasgians' was applied to them. This led to a conclusion that the Etruscans had come as invaders/settlers to Asia Minor, the reverse of what Beekes argues is the case. Recently Alinei, like Beekes primarily a linguist, argued that the genetic, linguistic and cultural evidence supports an origin for the Etruscans in Anatolia in Turkey.⁴⁹ He discusses some of the words which he argues have come from Anatolia into Etruscan. He produces pictorial evidence of many links which he sees between the art and artefacts from Anatolia and those of Etruria, such as tomb paintings at Tarquinia. Palmucci, too, argues for a migration of people from Etruria through the Mediterranean to the Troad, Mysia and Lydia, who in due course returned to Etruria.⁵⁰ He considers that this is in accord with the version given by Lycophron and Virgil. Beekes argues that during the Mycenaean period there were famine and wars which drove the Tyrsenoi from Anatolia and this might have coincided with Aeneas' flight from Troy with his followers.⁵¹

In 2007 Pellecchia published research which showed mitochondrial DNA taken from cattle in the Tuscan area of Italy was identical to that of cattle in Anatolia.⁵² He pointed out that the evidence showed that the cattle arrived in Etruria by sea and not by an overland route, as there were no examples of the same DNA from the land route between the two places. In 2007 Achilli and Torroni produced evidence that DNA from inhabitants of Murlo in Tuscany was identical to that of people in Anatolia.⁵³ A recent article published online by Barbujani, a geneticist, argues, however, that any common ancestry between Tuscany and Western Anatolia belongs to a period about 7,600 years ago, long before the emergence of the Etruscan people.⁵⁴ Palmucci, in response to this article, argues in his latest book that Barbujani's case ignores some previous evidence.⁵⁵ Perkins argues, on the other hand, that the DNA evidence cannot prove what geneticists have

claimed. He suggests that geneticists and Etruscologists need to work together on these issues so that the geneticists understand the constraints placed on their claims by archaeological and other evidence. He does not, however, address all the theories put forward by Beekes and others.⁵⁶ The debate over the origin of the Etruscans really belongs outside the scope of this thesis. It is a debate which will, no doubt, continue to be forcefully argued by scholars. The DNA evidence may not support the theory that there was migration from modern Turkey to Etruria in the last part of the second millennium BC, but other evidence may support the idea that Trojan survivors came to southern Etruria. A brief summary of the current debate was, however, necessary, as it relates to the proposal that the Trojans, led by Aeneas, came to Etruria.

If Beekes' argument is correct, the founders of the Etruscan race were neighbours of the Trojans. It could even be argued that the Trojans were in fact Tyrsenoi. Beekes considers that this is unlikely, but concedes that they may have been closely related. If this is the case, it could be argued that Aeneas, escaping from Troy during the same period of famine and upheaval that drove the Tyrsenoi from Asia Minor to Italy, joined their exodus. This might account for the fact that Aeneas was a popular mythical figure in southern Etruria at the end of the sixth century BC. The evidence for this is to be found in vases from this area which show the escape of Aeneas from Troy.

Etruscan interest in the stories of the Trojan War

Attic vases showing Aeneas escaping Troy with Anchises were popular in southern Etruria. The escape of Aeneas from Troy is not, however, the only story related to the Trojan War to be found in artistic representations from Etruria.⁵⁷ The evidence would suggest that the story of Troy was popular among Etruscans from probably the middle of the sixth century BC. Frederica Borelli and Maria Cristina Targia discuss the development of trade in Attic vases to Etruria from the beginning of the sixth century BC until there was a downturn in such trade following the defeat of the Etruscan fleet at Cumae in 474 BC.⁵⁸

Borelli and Targia make two important points. First, they state that the vases 'were expressly made by Attic workshops to suit Etruscan tastes'. This implies that the Aeneas/Anchises vases were made to meet a demand for them from Etruria rather than being made as the result of an Attic potter's choice of subject matter. This is the argument made by Reusser, who has shown that of all the Greek vases with a provenance from Etruria only those portraying Aeneas and Anchises were specifically ordered from Athens by Etruscans living in the southern part of Etruria.⁵⁹ It has to be asked why the Etruscans were interested in this story. Other vases found in Etruria show an interest in the role of the Olympian gods, the deeds of heroes and the events of the Trojan War. Lowenstam provides an example of this when she discusses representations of Achilles ambushing Troilus

and his sacrifice of Trojan youths to honour Patroclus on vases and in other artistic genres.⁶⁰ The difference is that, while such vases are common, they have their provenance inside and outside Italy, whereas the provenance of the majority of those with representation of the hero Aeneas seems to be attributable to southern Etruria only.⁶¹ It could be argued that the Etruscans and the Trojans had a common source, modern Turkey, if it is true that the Etruscans originally came from there, as Beekes argues. In this case they, like the Trojans, were refugees, perhaps from the Hittites, whose empire expanded during the Mycenaean period, or as a result of famine and its concomitant upheavals, and the story of Aeneas, a refugee from roughly the same part of the world, might appeal to them as a reminder of their past.

The second point which Borelli and Targia make is that the reduced trade after the Etruscan defeat at Cumae may account for the fact that there are few vases depicting the story after 490 BC. This could also be attributable, however, to changes in taste, because the phasing out of black-figure vases took place around this time, and the vast majority of the imported vases are Attic black-figure.

Vases which show the story of Aeneas' escape from Troy

First, it is important to look at the statistical evidence for vases which portray the story of the escape of Aeneas from Troy.⁶² Beazley, in his iconic work on Greek vases, gave thirty-six vases which show this episode. The *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* lists forty-eight vases which show the escape of Aeneas and Anchises from Troy, either under the listing of Aeneas, or Kreousa.⁶³ Of these vases the vast majority (forty) are Attic Black-figure vases.⁶⁴ The most common shape of these is the amphora (twenty-seven).⁶⁵ In 1960 Schauenburg published an important article on Aeneas and Rome.⁶⁶ The basis of his article was an examination of Attic vases depicting the flight of Aeneas from Troy. Most of these vases came from southern Etruria. He listed fifty-eight vases in all (fifty-two Attic black-figure, five Attic red-figure and one Etruscan red-figure).⁶⁷ The earliest black-figure vase came from 520 BC and the latest red-figure vase from 450 BC. The majority of the vases were, however, black-figure amphorae from the last two decades of the sixth century BC. Of those with a known provenance nineteen came from southern Etruria and nine others from elsewhere in Italy or Sicily. Schauenburg considered that it was fair to assume that vases without provenance came from Etruria or southern Italy and Sicily, that vases were almost certainly made at the request of buyers, and that it was not surprising if some of the vases were sold in Sicily and southern Italy from ships bound for Etruria. He argued that 'no-one today should any longer question that the legend of Aeneas was known in the late sixth century in Etruria and thereby also in Rome. ... It is equally certain that the myth reached Rome from Etruria'.⁶⁸ He considered that the Roman myth of Aeneas emerged in the late archaic period.

Table 2.1 Dates of the vases

610 BC	1
540 BC	1
520–510 BC	3
510–500 BC	21
500–490 BC	14
Post 490 BC	5
No given date	24

The research for this book has increased Schauenburg's total to sixty-nine.⁶⁹ The given dates for the vases are shown in the table above.

The majority of these Aeneas/Anchises vases are therefore Attic black-figure amphorae from the period 520–490 BC.

The iconography of the forty-eight vases identified by *LIMC* can be divided into four groups: three showing the general scene of Ilioupersis, seven showing Aeneas and Anchises without any women, nineteen showing Aeneas and Anchises with one woman, and nineteen showing Aeneas and Anchises with two women. In twelve of the vases there is one child, in three of the vases there are two children. There are hoplites in the scenes on nine and archers in the scenes on fifteen. Appendix B, the outcome of research for this book, gives four showing Ilioupersis, four showing Aeneas and Anchises without women, twenty-three with one woman, seventeen with two women, eighteen with one child, two with two children, nine with hoplites and sixteen with archers.⁷⁰ The iconography will be discussed in due course.

The provenance of these vases, where known, can be illustrated in the table below.

So twenty-eight of the forty-eight vases in *LIMC* (58%) have a provenance in Italy or Sicily, with seventeen (35%) having a southern Etruscan provenance.⁷¹ These numbers decrease significantly to 39% and 27% in light of the increase of the number of vases to sixty-nine by the research carried out for this book. The vases from the area of Campania (Naples, Salerno

Table 2.2 Provenance of the vases

Vulci	13
Cerveteri	3
Tarquinia	1
Elsewhere in Etruria	2
Southern Italy	5
Sicily	3
Other provenance given	1 (Athens, Agora)

and Nola) may be regarded as Etruscan, because of the Etruscan influence in this area in the late sixth century, as Alföldi points out.⁷² These vases are spread through museums in Europe and North America. A simple, but highly regrettable, reason for the fact that so many have no provenance is that the vases were removed by tomb robbers. Leighton says that there was a flourishing trade in antiquities in the eighteenth century, but the period after the Napoleonic Wars was the worst, with Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, who plundered Vulci, one of the biggest offenders.

'One may be wary of glibly romanticising this period; in fact, it was more like a holocaust for Etruscan archaeology. Gangs of workmen 50-strong picked over the site like ants on a carcass'.⁷³

Ridley strongly makes similar points.⁷⁴ It would not seem to be an unreasonable assumption to make that all the Aeneas/Anchises vases without a provenance are in fact from the plundered area of southern Etruria, as Schauenburg suggested. If there were in the region of 60 vases from southern Etruria which portrayed the Aeneas/Anchises story, this would not be an insignificant number and certainly one which merits further investigation.

The *LIMC* lists a further eighteen representations of other events from the life of Aeneas, which are given a provenance of Etruria and amount to 38% of the examples given of these events. Thirteen are vases, one a bronze mirror from Tarquinia (c200 BC) and four sarcophagi from Volterra (c100 BC).⁷⁵ The events represented are Aeneas with Paris at Sparta (seven), Aeneas coming to the help of Troilus (four), Aeneas against Diomedes (four), Aeneas coming to the help of Hector (one), Aeneas in the battle over Patroclus' body (one) and Aeneas against an unidentified Greek (one). The earliest of the vases is about 675 BC; others date from the sixth and fifth centuries BC. There are, therefore, a total of eighty-eight representations of the life of Aeneas, with thirty-seven (42%) having a known provenance of Etruria. These figures show that the representation of the story of Aeneas on vases is much more common than most commentators acknowledge and would suggest that the story was popular with upper echelons of the Etruscan population.⁷⁶ Most of these vases are black-figure and date to the period from 520–500 BC.

The iconography of the vases

It is relevant to consider the iconography of the Aeneas/Anchises vases, since there are differences from the story told by Virgil in *Aeneid* Book 2. As we have already seen, Homer gives a reason for Aeneas surviving the fall of Troy and poems of the Epic Cycle support his escape from Troy.⁷⁷ Much later Naevius, probably relying upon these earlier sources, has the wives of Anchises and Aeneas leaving Troy with heads covered and in floods of tears, followed by a large group including many energetic men.⁷⁸ Finally, he writes that the old man (presumably Anchises) addresses the group relying

upon his *pietas*.⁷⁹ These fragments support the idea that Aeneas' wife escaped with him and *pietas* was an important Roman virtue as early as the third century BC. The strange thing is that a wife is ascribed to Anchises, as no wife is mentioned in any other source, although two other sons and a daughter are ascribed to him. Aeneas is the son of Anchises and Venus. Anchises was told not to divulge the fact that he had a relationship with Venus. When he did so, he was either blinded or made lame by Jupiter as punishment. The lameness explains the need for Aeneas to carry him out of Troy. For Virgil, the myth had to change. Creusa had to be lost during the escape from Troy, a logical point for her to leave the story, so that Aeneas was free to have a love affair with Dido at Carthage and to marry Lavinia in Latium at the end of the epic.

It was hard not to view the vases with Virgil's version of the escape from Troy in mind, but this would be to impose a version that was not written until five or six centuries after the vases were made. The Attic vase painters would be acquainted with the works of Homer and other poets of the Epic Cycle. They would presumably be aware of the other mythical stories which were in circulation in Athens in the sixth century BC. No comment is needed on those vases which show Aeneas and Anchises alone, except to point out that they show an established myth in the sixth century BC that Anchises was crippled or blind and that he had to be carried out of Troy by his son Aeneas. Some of the vases also show Anchises holding the sacred items of Troy. Horsfall strangely writes that Aeneas is nowhere depicted carrying the sacred items.⁸⁰ This is hardly surprising since he has his hands full, because he is carrying Anchises. The vase painters, therefore, show Anchises holding them. Both of these features occur in Virgil's version of the escape from Troy in *Aeneid* Book 2. Archers, often in Phrygian dress, are clearly used by the painter to emphasise that the scene is one from the Trojan cycle rather than some other myth. Susan Woodford discusses at some length the way in which painters often confused scenes with similar iconography such as the Aeneas/Anchises scene and the Ajax with the corpse of Achilles scene.⁸¹ She also points out that painters often included extra, unnecessary figures, in order to have symmetry in the picture. When there are two children, it may be that the painter is seeking symmetry rather than saying that Aeneas had two children, since the common myth is that he only had one, Ascanius, at this point.

It is those vases which have either one or two female figures which warrant some discussion. If the vase depicts two female figures, they are usually identified as Venus and Creusa. The figure on the left is often farewelling the Aeneas/Anchises group and the other female figure. On the basis of the known myth of the time of the painters, this figure is likely to be Venus, and the other female figure is Creusa accompanying Aeneas out of Troy.⁸² Virgil may have been the first to introduce the idea that Creusa did not leave Troy with Aeneas. In the vase from Munich the painter seems to be striving for balance [Figure 2.1].



Figure 2.1 Attic black-figure amphora from Munich.

On the left is a female figure striding to the left, but looking back at the small boy who is holding her hand, but is running to the right. The female figure has added white for her feet and ankles, her arms, her neck and her face. In the centre, Aeneas, with a helmet with white crest and two spears in his left hand, holds Anchises with his right arm. Anchises has a white beard and white hair with long white ringlets. The female figure on the right is striding to the right, but turns back to look at the other young boy, on whose head she places a protective hand. The boy is running to



Figure 2.2 Attic black-figure amphora from the British Museum.

the right like the other boy. This female figure has white feet, calves, arms, neck and face.

Very similar is this vase from the British Museum with two women, although there are no children and there is the added figure on the left of an archer holding a quiver and wearing an exaggeratedly pointed Phrygian cap [Figure 2.2].⁸³

Sometimes there are minor differences, as can be seen in a vase from Tarquinia. Noticeably there is no added white on this vase. On the left, a female figure farewells the fleeing Trojans. She may be Venus. In the centre, the face of Anchises almost completely hides the face of Aeneas. The female figure on the right (Creusa?), who looks back as she hurries away from Troy, is carrying a tiny figure (Ascanius?). The fact that she is carrying a baby strongly supports the view that she is Creusa. On the far right is a man wearing a Phrygian cap.⁸⁴

When there is one female figure, she could be either Venus, helping Aeneas and Anchises to escape, or Creusa escaping with them, as in this vase from the Leiden Museum [Figure 2.3].⁸⁵ In the centre, Aeneas going to the right has a high-crested helmet, carries two spears in his left hand and has his right arm around Anchises' tucked up legs. Anchises has added white for his hair and beard. In his right hand he holds a sceptre. On the right, the female figure, whether Venus or Creusa, strides to the right with left arm raised as she looks back at the central figures. She has added white for her feet and ankles, her right and left arms, her face and her neck. There is added purple on her dress and in a band around her hair. On the left the smaller figure of Ascanius runs to keep up with his father. He too has an added purple band in his hair.

A vase from Vulci in the Leiden Museum presents an interesting point [Figure 2.4].⁸⁶ The museum catalogue identifies the female figure on the right as Creusa.⁸⁷ This female has added white for her feet, calves, arms, neck and face. It is possible, however, that it may be Venus placing her protective hand on the head of Ascanius (as in the vase from Munich), because Anchises is shown reaching out to touch her. He has added white for his beard and hair with long ringlets. Such a gesture from Anchises would be more appropriate towards his lover Venus than to his daughter-in-law Creusa. It is also quite common for protective gods or goddesses to be shown in vase-painting. There is also a second boy following Aeneas and Anchises.

It can be reasonably concluded from a study of these vases that those with the story of the escape of Aeneas from Troy, primarily with Anchises, but also with other members of his family, were popular as grave goods of more noble families in southern Etruria between Vulci and Veii in the sixth century BC, especially in the last quarter of that century. The iconography seems to support fragments from the Epic Cycle which suggest that Aeneas escaped with his family either before or during the fall of Troy. In the original story perhaps Creusa (who was named Eurydice in *Cypria*) reached Italy too. In vases produced in the sixth century BC there would be no need for Creusa to be lost as she leaves Troy, as Virgil describes in *Aeneid* Book 2. The story of Dido begins, we think, with Naevius, and the relationship with Lavinia comes from Virgil. In these works it would be difficult for Aeneas to engage in relationships, if his wife was accompanying him, but the vase painters are not confronted



Figure 2.3 Attic black-figure amphora from Leiden.

by this difficulty. The majority (forty-one out of sixty-nine) of the vases include at least one female figure. When there is one female figure, it is most likely to be Creusa (though it could be Venus, as argued for the Leiden vase above); when there are two, they are likely to be Creusa and

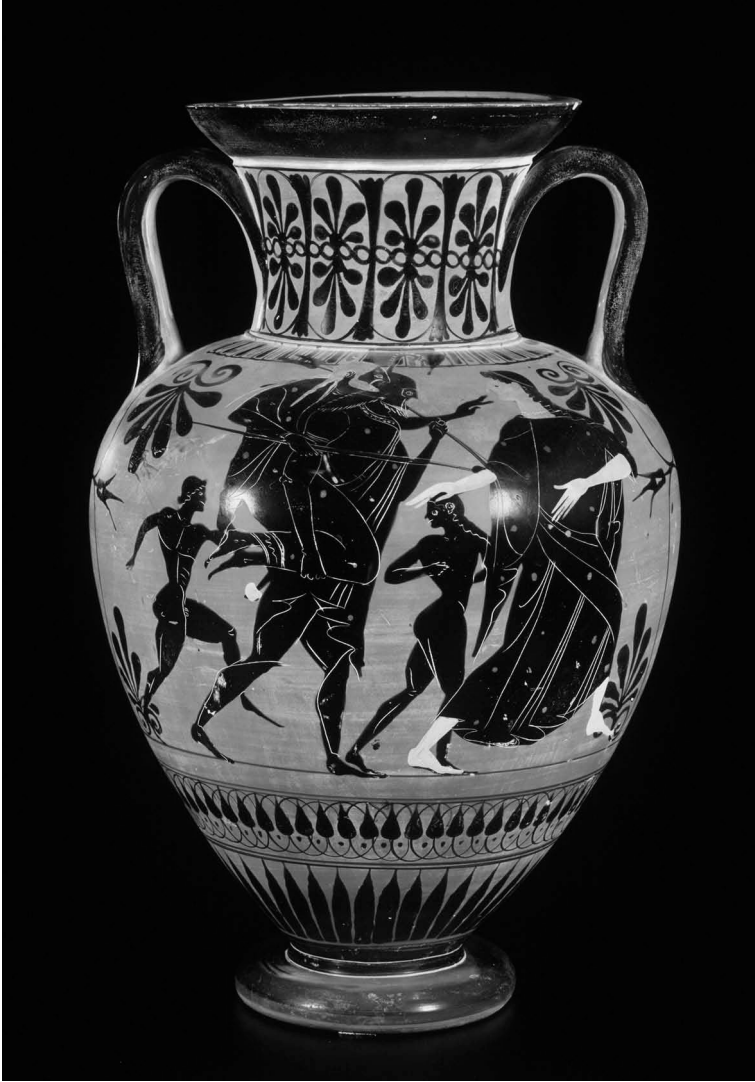


Figure 2.4 Attic black-figure amphora from Leiden.

Venus. It seems probable that these vases were specifically ordered from Etruria, as Reusser argues.⁸⁸ Almost all the vases date between 520 and 480 BC.⁸⁹ The evidence of these vases seems to be much stronger than the flimsy archaeological evidence from Lavinium favoured by some scholars, and should not be ignored, as it has been in the case of several scholars.

Other artistic evidence

As well as the vases, several terracotta figurines have been found representing Aeneas carrying Anchises out of Troy in the Campetti sanctuary of the goddess Veis/Ceres at Veii. These are in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome.

Quinn mentions *an* (my italics) Etruscan amphora showing Aeneas and some figurines from Veii.⁹⁰ Sybille Haynes argues that:

An interesting group representing the Trojan hero Aeneas carrying his aged father, Anchises, during his flight from the Sack of Troy has turned up in several examples in the city's [Veii's] sanctuaries, a tangible expression of the Roman settlers' perception of their remote Trojan ancestry.⁹¹

This would place the figurines later than the fifth century, as Veii fell to the Romans traditionally in 396 BC and settlers came to the abandoned city sometime after that date. Martinelli and Paolucci include an illustration of one of these which they ascribe to the first half of the fifth century BC.⁹² Horsfall states that they were considered to be from the sixth or fifth century, but argues that it is more likely that they belong to the fourth or third century.⁹³ Some place them as late as the first century BC. It is possible that this late date is connected to the idea of the story being in the *Aeneid*. It seems that an attempt may be being made to ascribe the date of the figurines to link them to the Romans rather than the Etruscans. If the evidence of the vases is correct, there seems to be no reason why the figurines should not be from the same period of the sixth or fifth century. The presence of figurines in a sanctuary would suggest the presence of a cult. Perhaps Aeneas was seen as a protective figure and one to be admired because of the way in which he rescued his family, and notably his father, from the destruction of Troy. Or it could be that a foundation myth had been established in southern Etruria which linked Aeneas and his family to the foundation of one of the cities in the region.

The transmission of the Aeneas myth as explained by scholars

In 1942 Perret argued that the Aeneas myth has its origins at the time of Pyrrhus (280–275 BC).⁹⁴ The following year Bérard claimed that the myth had its origins in a substratum of Pelasgian immigrations to Italy.⁹⁵ In 1951 Bömer dismissed both these theories.⁹⁶ He claimed that, based on the known representations (the clay figurines and eleven vases), the myth arrived in Etruria in the late sixth century and was also known in Rome about that time. One of the most important commentaries was the article of Schauenburg in 1960.⁹⁷ He accepted Bömer's theory, but thought the date of the figurines was a problem, as they more likely dated from the late fifth century. He produced much more evidence from the vases, as we have

already seen. There was only one vase with a known provenance from outside Italy. This is Agora P6180 which was found in a well near the Bouleuterion in the Agora and was, therefore, never exported.⁹⁸ Schauenburg concluded, as we have seen, that it was fair to assume that the vases without provenance came from Etruria, southern Italy or Sicily, that the vases were almost certainly made at the request of the buyers, and that it was not surprising if some were sold in Sicily and southern Italy en route to Etruria. He argued that 'it is equally certain that the myth reached Rome from Etruria'.⁹⁹ He believed that the Roman myth of Aeneas emerged in the late archaic period. He pointed out that after the vases the myth was shown on Parthenon North Metope 28 (447–442 BC), but then not again till some coins from Segesta about 241 BC (although perhaps from the first century BC). In the first two centuries AD there was renewed interest in representing the group, although Kreousa was no longer part of it in accordance with Virgil's *Aeneid*. The group became a symbol of *pietas Romana*, and the Julian family claimed descent from Aeneas. Harrison, apparently in agreement with Perret, argues that the invasion of Italy by Pyrrhus of Epirus (280 BC) was a particular stimulus for Ennius, writing in the late third and early second century BC, and others to concentrate on the Trojan origins of Rome, because Pyrrhus claimed to be descended from Achilles and saw Rome as a second Troy.¹⁰⁰ Nothing suggests that a study of Ennius solves the problem of transmission of the Aeneas legend to Rome, because the surviving evidence is so fragmentary.

Christine Perkell has other suggestions to make about the transmission of the myth:

Suggested in a general way in the *Iliad*, Aeneas' piety finds its emblematic expression in his carrying his aged father from flaming Troy, an image depicted on vases and seals as early as the sixth century B.C. [without giving any provenance] The story of Aeneas' arrival in Latium can be dated to the fifth century B.C. By 480 B.C., Romans seem to have adopted this legend for their own city and so began to acquire a heroic heritage suited to their political expansion. Naevius (264–194 B.C.) appears to have told of Aeneas' departure from Troy, his wanderings and his arrival in Italy with his father. According to Servius, Naevius represented Romulus, the founder of Rome, as the grandson of Aeneas, thus integrating the independently developing stories of Romulus and Aeneas.¹⁰¹

There seem to be several problems with what Christine Perkell claims. First, she gives no reasons or supporting evidence for claiming that 'the story of Aeneas' arrival in Latium can be dated to the fifth century B.C.' or why she chooses the date 480 BC as the time that Rome 'adopted this legend for their own city'. It may well be that she is simply relying on Harrison who states that there is a fragment from the *Iliupersis* of Stesichorus (about 550 BC) which mentions Troy in the west.¹⁰² Cornell refers to fragments from Hellanicus of Lesbos and Damastes of Sigeum, historians writing around

the end of the fifth century BC, which state that Rome is a foundation of Aeneas.¹⁰³ Finally, Harrison claims that this was a well-established theory by the end of the third century BC, as is evidenced by a fragment from Timaeus.¹⁰⁴ The fragmentary nature of all these sources presents considerable problems for the development of a strong argument. Secondly, Perkell makes use of Naevius. Only fragments survive of his *Bellum Punicum*, as has been pointed out already, but these are not very helpful. We have to rely on the commentary of Servius to confirm that Naevius may have suggested a link between the fleeing Trojans and the foundation of Rome. Finally, she does not elaborate upon the image of Aeneas and Anchises shown on vases as early as the sixth century BC. This chapter has established the importance of those vases.

Although Schauenburg seemed to have made a reasoned case for an Etruscan origin for the myth, one which this chapter has expanded and supported, his evidence has been ignored by some scholars. For example, Sybille Haynes did not discuss the vases, but mentioned only the figurines and thought that they represented Roman views of a Trojan ancestry from the time after the capture of Veii about 396 BC.¹⁰⁵ In a chapter on the Trojan War Bonfante and Swadling did not even mention the Aeneas myth or the evidence of the vases and figurines.¹⁰⁶ Casali seems to follow Dionysius closely in his discussion of the development of the Aeneas legend.¹⁰⁷ Other scholars, although conceding the existence of an Etruscan possibility, are determined to show that the myth has its origin in Latium.¹⁰⁸

This different view was expressed by Alföldi in his two works, the first of which was written, of course, before Schauenburg published his.¹⁰⁹ The second, however, does acknowledge Schauenburg's work. Alföldi was determined to prove that the myth came to Rome from Latium. He claimed that the myth and cult of Aeneas at Lavinium in Latium were ancient, perhaps as early as the seventh century BC. He argued that the Etruscans replaced Odysseus with Aeneas as a foundation hero when they began to see the Greeks as enemies rather than trading partners in the fifth century BC. He also argued that the Latins adopted Aeneas as a direct result of the Etruscan invasion of Latium and Campania, although this was not until the sixth century and not as early as the seventh as he claimed.

The extraordinary popularity of Aeneas in Etruria, as revealed in the survey by Schauenburg, reflects the immense respect with which a founder-hero was regarded. ... What I really mean is, however, that Aeneas was celebrated in some cities of Southern Etruria as their founder-hero: precisely in the cities which were in turn the overlords of Rome.¹¹⁰

Yet in spite of this statement, he avoids the obvious conclusion that the story came directly to Rome from southern Etruria, because he wants to prove that the myth reached Rome through Lavinium. He admits the existence of an Etruscan version, but rejects it because it runs contrary to the case which he makes.

Galinsky discussed the matter twice.¹¹¹ He, too, admits the existence of the Etruscan version, but, like Alföldi, insists that the myth has its origin in Latium.

What we can safely deduce from the evidence, however, is that Aeneas was well known and perhaps even favoured by the Etruscans. By the fifth century, Rome had reached its early heyday while being under Etruscan domination. That, in my opinion, is the basis for the association of Aeneas with Rome in Hellanicus and his sources, most likely Greeks familiar with Rome.¹¹²

He claimed that Greeks, such as Hellanicus, wanted to show that all barbarians, e.g. the Romans, originated from the Greeks or were subdued by them. He did not support Alföldi, as he considered that there was no evidence of an Etruscan cult of Aeneas, or that Lavinium would have adopted it, if there was. Yet he stated that Aeneas was known in Rome as a hero of the Etruscans and believed that the Romans would hardly adopt Etruscan Aeneas at the time of the beginning of the republic. 'Whereas the first occurrence of the Aeneas legend at Rome, as exemplified by Hellanicus and Damastes, reflects the Etruscan influence at Rome, its revival, starting in the later fourth century, is an expression of the Roman supremacy over Latium'.¹¹³ He concluded 'The claim of Trojan ancestry had reflected the political and cultural aspirations of the Romans in the third century B.C.'. ¹¹⁴

Horsfall, while discussing the evidence of the vases and figurines, conceded that there was an Etruscan version of the myth, but dismissed it. He concluded:

The inferences to be drawn from this body of material have shown a decided tendency to diminish in scale and importance: there is clear evidence for familiarity with Aeneas, but no proof whatever that the Etruscans venerated him as a founding hero, no certainty that he was the object of a cult, and consequently no reason to suppose that they imposed him either upon Lavinium (Alföldi) or upon Rome (Galinsky).¹¹⁵

Yet, he, too, seems to contradict himself. For although he agrees that Dury-Moyaers is correct in saying that it is implausible to suppose that Aeneas was not known a few miles to the south (i.e. in Rome), he considers that such knowledge would be via Lavinium through its many contacts with Greece.¹¹⁶ This seems to ignore the strong links between the Greeks and the Etruscans as well as the much more obvious link between Etruria and Rome. It is much more likely that knowledge in Rome of the Aeneas legend came directly from southern Etruria during a period when Etruscans ruled Rome. It seems that Horsfall missed the opportunity to investigate further the significance of these vases. He links the idea of a founding hero to the idea of *pietas*, but this needs to be treated as a separate issue. There may well have been a founding hero myth long before the concept of *pietas* was adopted.

Cornell also discussed possible origins of the Roman legend of Aeneas.¹¹⁷ He stated that as early as the sixth century BC Aeneia, in Macedonia, was issuing coins showing Aeneas carrying Anchises from Troy.¹¹⁸ When Cornell referred to Hellanicus and Damastes, he argued that they were influenced by local tradition rather than vice versa. He then made the slightly odd statement that the Trojan link gave the Romans respectability and later helped to make Roman rule acceptable in the Greek world. One can only assume that he means that the Romans became more acceptable to the Greeks for having a link to the Trojan War, a famous Greek victory and the subject of its greatest epic poems, even though they were claiming a link to the defeated enemies of the Greeks. He claimed that archaeological finds show that central Italians were deeply influenced by Greek culture in the sixth century BC, since the story was well known in Etruria by then, as is shown by the number of imported vases which display the scene of Aeneas and Anchises. He did not, however, develop this point further, but merely concluded 'We can say only that he was a known and evidently well-liked mythical figure'. He argued that the idea that the legend came to Rome from the Etruscans was weak, as there was no certainty that the Etruscans ruled Rome in the sixth century BC. He admitted that there was direct contact between Latium and the Greek World in the archaic age, but he considered Lavinium to be the key to the adoption of the story of Aeneas by Rome, as he claimed that there was a cult to the Trojan *penates* there and that Aeneas was worshipped there as '*pater indiges*', although it cannot be shown that the cult was established before the fourth century BC. Cornell concluded by saying 'It is reasonable to argue, then, that Aeneas probably, and Romulus certainly, were known before the end of the sixth century B.C., and that a composite foundation legend involving both had already begun to circulate'.¹¹⁹

It seems, however, to be just as probable that the myth was known and accepted in Rome during the Etruscan period of domination as that it became popular there for the reasons put forward by Alföldi, Galinsky, Horsfall or Cornell. This idea is supported by Hall, who argued that the 'Aeneas legend was fostered in Italy largely by the Etruscans' and that 'Aeneas came to occupy a position of founder of cities in Etruria and Etruscan Italy'.¹²⁰ He goes on to argue that the story came to Rome with the Etruscans, but faded with the expulsion of the kings and the smaller number of Etruscans in the aristocracy at Rome, and that the Latin origin of Aeneas became prominent in the third and second century BC, until the Etruscan version saw a revival when the Julian family began to claim its link with Venus through Iulus and Aeneas. Harrison, indeed, argues that the cult at Lavinium must remain unproven.¹²¹

Although a conclusive reason cannot be given why the people of a particular area of southern Etruria, and perhaps nowhere else during that period, chose these vases, the possibility has been suggested that the story might have appealed to Etruscans, as they were exiles from the same area of modern Turkey. The idea appealed to them because they thought that Aeneas too had reached Italy. Another possibility is that the story of Aeneas' escape came to

Tarquinius with the Corinthian Demaratus, as he had fled his native city to escape civil disorder. His son Lucumo became Tarquinius Priscus and ruled Rome from 578–534 BC. In this case, the story would have reached southern Etruria with Demaratus about 620 BC. This might have begun the spread of the story in southern Etruria among the noble families. An appealing element was the idea that Aeneas looked after his elderly father. A vase portraying the story found in a grave might represent the idea that the person buried had also been cared for by his son. Even though no conclusive reason can be given, it cannot be denied that the story was well-known in southern Etruria at the end of the sixth century BC. By probably the end of the fifth century BC, figurines of Aeneas and Anchises were votive offerings at the temple of Veis/Ceres at Veii. There could be a link between these and a possible shrine to Aeneas at Lavinium. At the same time Hellanicus and Damastes suggested a link between Aeneas and the foundation of Rome. Of the various more recent scholars considered in this chapter only Harrison, Horsfall and Cornell mention the considerable number of vases which portray the Aeneas legend. They, however, just like the others, do not go on to discuss the significance of the vases for southern Etruria and the possibility that the story spread from there to Rome. Only Alföldi discusses the issue at length, but he is set on proving that Lavinium is the vital link in the transmission of the story to Rome, although Horsfall, as we have seen, dismisses this idea.¹²² Schauenburg is the only scholar who strongly makes the argument for an Etruscan origin.

Although much of what has been said remains speculative, the vases and their significance cannot be ignored. There are too many of them which show the Aeneas episode and come from southern Etruria for it to be claimed that their presence is an accident. Clearly Etruscans in this area saw some significance in this story and ordered vases from Attica which illustrated it. It was, without doubt, a popular myth in the area. It is difficult to establish a firm link for the transfer of the myth to Rome for the most part because of the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence. It is not unreasonable, however, to assume that the Romans adopted an Etruscan myth, as they did many other items, during the period of Etruscan influence in Rome during the sixth and fifth centuries BC. How the myth originally reached southern Etruria is also speculative. There is no written Etruscan evidence which might help. If the myth was brought to Italy either as part of the settlement of the Etruscans from Asia Minor, if such migration is sustainable as an argument, or by Trojan survivors reaching Etruria, it would have remained an oral tradition until the late eighth century, when written texts began with Homer.¹²³ When painters began to represent mythological stories on their vases in the late seventh and the sixth century, Etruscans began to order vases with representations of Aeneas among other stories from the Trojan War. It is to be hoped that the work of Beekes and Pellecchia may renew an interest in searching for the origin of the Etruscans and that human DNA might eventually resolve the debate. In the meantime it is reasonable to try to build an argument on the available, but limited, evidence. Of this evidence the vases and figurines are some of the

strongest. Yet, for many scholars, it is as if this evidence has ceased to be an issue at all. The argument of this chapter is that the evidence is much stronger for transmission of the myth from southern Etruria than it is for its transmission through Latium.

Links to the Julian family

It seems that Virgil was the first to relate a story with Aeneas as the hero. Possible origins of the story have already been discussed. Some scholars, such as Perkell, suggest that he chose Aeneas because the Julian family had 'for centuries' claimed a connection to Aeneas through his son Ascanius/Iulus.¹²⁴ She seems to exaggerate the link to the Julian family by using the word 'centuries', when the evidence seems to suggest that such a link was probably no more than a century old. The link between the Aeneas story and the Julian family is perhaps best summed up by Balsdon, who considers that Roman families in the second century BC had 'the pretentious notion' of linking their family trees to the gods and that the Julian family claimed Venus as its source. He identifies a Roman magistrate of the mint, L. Iulius Caesar, as the first to strike coins showing Venus.¹²⁵ If he is right, then the link claimed by Julius Caesar and Augustus is under a hundred years old.

Zanker considers that Julius Caesar issued a denarius in 46 BC showing Aeneas fleeing Troy with Anchises holding the Palladium.¹²⁶ He adds further evidence from 42 BC when a similar scene appeared on a denarius issued by L. Regulus, and before 31 BC when Octavian issued a denarius showing Venus Genetrix. By the time that Virgil began to compose the *Aeneid* in 30 BC the story of Aeneas escaping Troy and the link between Venus through him to the Julian family seems to be well established. Erskine argues: 'Augustus' sponsorship of Aeneas and the Trojan myth is evident throughout his career, initially perhaps as a means of emphasising his relationship with Caesar, for example with a coin of 42 BC and in the lines 37–52 of Horace's *Centennial Hymn*'. Erskine also shows how the later Forum of Augustus 'emphasized the importance of the Iulii and their links with Aeneas'. On one side of the temple of Mars Ultor was a colonnade with statues of Aeneas with Anchises and Iulus, the Alban kings and members of the Julian family. In the opposite colonnade were statues of Romulus and other important men from Roman history, such as Sulla and Pompey. This placement emphasised the superiority of the Julian family because of the link to Aeneas.¹²⁷

We have already seen that there is a considerable gap after writers such as Stesichorus, Hellanicus and Timaeus linked Troy to Italy before the Roman writers Naevius and Ennius may have linked the foundation of Rome through Romulus to Aeneas, an escapee from Troy. Although this is a very long gap, it is worth remembering that myths often survive for a long time without being produced in written form, as for example the story of Robin Hood. The story could have come to Rome either through Hellanicus and Damastes or through contacts with southern Etruria, whether through

Etruscan kings of Rome or not. After all, there were many other features that the Romans adopted from the Etruscans.¹²⁸ As we have seen, the Julian family's adoption of the story in an attempt to claim divine ancestry and to bolster the family name confirms that the story was known in Rome in the last part of the second century BC.

If the story of Aeneas was an accepted Etruscan myth, it is almost certain that it was known to Maecenas, even though he was from northern rather than southern Etruria. Maecenas must have been well aware of the Julian family's claimed link to Venus through Romulus, Ascanius/Iulus and Aeneas. If Maecenas and Virgil discussed the writing of a Roman epic to honour Augustus, it is quite possible that Maecenas may have influenced his fellow Etruscan, Virgil, by suggesting that he should develop the Etruscan story of Aeneas escaping Troy, which, by later literature, had been linked to the foundation of Rome, because this would please Augustus on account of the Julian claim to be descended from Venus.

The *Aeneid* is a foundation story. As Rome was being re-founded under Augustus, it would be particularly appropriate to link this to an original foundation myth which could also be shown to have a link to the emperor through the Julian name.¹²⁹ Zanker discusses these ideas in some length in his chapter *The Mythical Foundations of the New Rome*.¹³⁰ In 27 BC Augustus was honoured with the *Clupeus Virtutis* which recognised four of his key qualities – *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *pietas*. *Pietas* is the key attribute of Aeneas.¹³¹ Although Virgil began the *Aeneid* in about 30 BC, Augustus was probably recognised by then as an example of *pietas* towards the gods and his country (*deos patriamque*). By choosing Aeneas, Virgil is indirectly honouring the *pietas* of Augustus. Aeneas also displays the other qualities on the *clupeus*, with the exception of *clementia*, as he goes on the rampage after the death of Pallas in Book 10 and kills Turnus at the end of the epic. It is important that the issue of *pietas* is kept separate from the question of the foundation story. Horsfall is wrong to confuse the two issues. As far as can be told, Naevius was the first to include the idea of *pietas* in literature. He linked the idea to Anchises, as explained above. In 191 BC a temple was dedicated in Rome on the Velia to *Pietas*.¹³² This would suggest that the concept of *pietas* was conceived in the third century BC and not as early as the time of Rome's foundation.

Virgil may have been influenced to choose Aeneas as his hero by all these factors as well as the fact that both Naevius (C3 BC) and Ennius (C3/2 BC) included some of this story in their works. Virgil clearly had an intimate knowledge of Homer's epic poems. He would know that Homer wrote that Aeneas would survive the fall of Troy and go on to rule over the Trojans (*Iliad* 20.307–8). The story of Aeneas and the possible links to the foundation of Rome and the emperor's family gave Virgil a suitable topic on which to base his Roman epic, while emulating those of Homer. At this stage in his life he may have relished the challenge of writing a Roman epic to rival the Greek epics of Homer, just as he had rivalled Hesiod in writing the *Georgics*. Griffin concludes: 'But above all Virgil produced his *Aeneid*: the

closest approach, it turned out, which was possible for a real poet to an epic on Augustus'.¹³³ Syme comments 'Augustus was singularly fortunate in discovering for his epic poet of Italy a man whose verse and sentiments harmonised so easily with his own ideas and policy.'¹³⁴

Virgil's portrayal of the Etruscans in the *Aeneid*

In the *Aeneid* itself the Etruscans feature prominently in the second half of the epic, as the action changes from Aeneas' quest for a new homeland for his Trojans to the events that transpire when he has reached Italy.¹³⁵ Williams sees parallels between the function of Book 7 and Book 1, as Juno's interference through Allecto (Book 7) and Aeolus (Book 1) brings tragedy for those who offer a friendly welcome to Aeneas and his followers. He sees Book 7 as more dramatic, as it is placed between the 'serenity of the last part of Book 6' and 'the idyllic setting of Book 8'.¹³⁶

Perhaps the most significant departure from the themes of the first half of the epic is Juno's use of the powers of the Underworld to fulfil her designs. Because of the interference of Allecto, Aeneas needs help to withstand the onslaught of Turnus, the Rutulians and the Latins. He seeks it from Evander, an Arcadian king with strong links to the Etruscans. Had Evander not been so old, he would have taken on the leadership of the Etruscan forces gathered against Mezentius, which was offered to him by Tarchon.¹³⁷

Although there are many references to the Etruscans in the second half of the epic, the two major Etruscan figures are Mezentius and Tarchon, who are in stark contrast to each other. Virgil introduces Mezentius in the catalogue of the forces gathered against Aeneas and the Trojans.¹³⁸ Mezentius, a cruel man (*crudelis*), who despised the gods (*contemptor divum*), is the first to answer the call to arms against the Trojans.

Williams refers to Servius as the source for the fact that it is highly appropriate that such a godless person should be listed first to lead the attack on the *pious* Aeneas.¹³⁹ Virgil applies a derogatory epithet to Mezentius as he calls him *contemptor divum* on the second occasion that he mentions him (8.7). The picture of a man who despises the gods is borne out by the way in which Virgil portrays him. At this point Virgil also introduces his handsome son, Lausus (7.649 f). This juxtaposition is repeated at the end of Book 10. Virgil says that Lausus' life would have been happier, if his father had not been Mezentius. Virgil by his use of *nequiquam* (7.652) points to the demise of Lausus and Mezentius in Book 10. Virgil's use of *equum domitor* to describe Lausus as tamer of horses is also interesting, because it is used by Homer as an epithet for Hector in the *Iliad*. This may be another subtle hint from Virgil that Lausus will die at the hands of Aeneas, who equates to Homer's Achilles in the conclusion of this epic.

The answer to why Virgil describes Mezentius as *contemptor divum* lies in Evander's speech to Aeneas in 8.475ff. Evander explains to Aeneas that nearby Agylla, a city 'founded long ago on an ancient rock, where the

Lydian people, famed in war, once settled on the Etruscan hills', was prosperous until Mezentius became king. Agylla (*urbis Agyllinae* 479) is Caere (modern Cerveteri), about forty kms north-west of Rome, an Etruscan city which for the most part enjoyed excellent relations with Rome. It is interesting that Virgil has Evander say that the city was founded by Lydian people, as this reinforces the idea that it was believed at that time that there was a link between the Etruscans and modern Turkey. Virgil chooses Caere, however, as the place from which Mezentius came. Virgil contrasts the 'many years of flourishing' as a city with the cruelty of Mezentius' rule. Mezentius' rule was arrogant (*superbo* 481), which Virgil must expect the reader to connect to the rule of Tarquin, the last king of Rome. He maintains his rule with savage arms (*saevis armis* 482) – *saevus* implies 'savagery, cruelty and violence'. Virgil uses a rhetorical question (*quid memorem* 483), just as Cicero does so often in his speeches, to suggest that Mezentius' rule is so well known for its violence that he does not need to give an example.¹⁴⁰ Mezentius murders people in a way that is so bad that it should not be talked about (*infandas* 483) and his deeds are likened to those of a wild animal (*effera* 484) and a tyrant (*tyranni* 483). In true rhetorical fashion Virgil then gives a repulsive example of his cruelty – binding living people to corpses to die covered by the decomposing body (485–8). Mezentius is then linked to other opponents of Aeneas and his mission by Virgil's use of the word *furem* (489). His behaviour becomes so intolerable that the citizens rise against him (489–92). He is lucky to escape from their anger and takes refuge with Turnus (493). The fact that Turnus grants him asylum does not improve the impression of Turnus. The whole of Etruria joins the Caeretans in arms to demand that Mezentius is returned for punishment. Their action is described as just and deserved (*furiis iustis* [494], *dolor iustus* [500–1] and *merita ira* [501]). Evander, as he farewells Pallas in Book 8, states that, had he still been in his youth, he would not have allowed Mezentius to bring about so many deaths and to cause such misery (8.568–71).

Mezentius is mentioned twice during the fighting in Book 9. In 9.521 he is *horrendus visu* as he approached the Trojan camp with a firebrand and in 9.586–9 he is described as using a sling to kill one of the Trojans. The former reinforces his frightening nature, the latter his willingness to use any method to destroy the enemy. Early in Book 10 Virgil reminds us of his unpopularity among the Etruscans, when he tells us that a force has even come from Mantua, Virgil's home town, in the distant north to fight against him.¹⁴¹ Once Mezentius joins the battle to take the place of Turnus, who has been lured away from the fighting by Juno, he is the focus of the attack of the whole Etruscan force.¹⁴²

These lines begin the last two hundred odd lines of Book 10 which culminate in the deaths of Mezentius and his son Lausus. Virgil emphasises the universal hatred of the Etruscans towards Mezentius by the juxtaposition of *omnibus uni* (691) and the repetition of *uni* (692). The threat that he represents, however, is emphasised in Virgil's use of the simile of a rock in the sea resisting all the forces of nature (693–6). Mezentius is also fiery

(*ardens* 689). He is given an *aristeia* in which he kills seven of his enemies. Williams explains:

This account of the *aristeia* of Mezentius, the ally of Turnus who despises the gods, is built up carefully to make him a worthy adversary of Aeneas. It is based very largely on Homeric battle-scenes, and indeed Mezentius in his ruthless valour shows all the qualities of a warrior of the heroic age. ... Virgil is closer to Homer here than almost anywhere else in the poem; this is deliberately done to portray the archaic nature of Mezentius' qualities as compared with those of Aeneas.¹⁴³

Mezentius' aggressive momentum brings him face to face with Aeneas. Virgil emphasises his approach with the exaggerated likeness to a giant Orion (762–8) and makes it clear that he is so self-confident that he does not fear Aeneas.¹⁴⁴ He says that his right hand is his god, as it will cast his spear, and vows to give Aeneas' armour to Lausus rather than the gods (772–6). This confirms his status as *contemptor divum*. His spear cast at Aeneas fails, as the spear bounces off the divine shield of Aeneas (776–8). Aeneas' return throw pierces Mezentius' shield and wounds him (783–6). It is significant that Aeneas is given the epithet *pius* here, as he faces the *impius* Mezentius. Mezentius is saved from the death blow by the intervention of Lausus, whose loyalty (*pietas* 812) to his undeserving father leads to his own death at the hands of Aeneas. Aeneas does not spare the young warrior, but is deeply affected by killing him (821–32). In stark contrast to the behaviour of Turnus after he killed Pallas, Aeneas does not spoil the body, but returns it to his father for burial in a moving passage (10.843–856), which emphasises the grief of Mezentius.

Mezentius hears the noise of the approaching mourners and is deeply affected by his son's death. He wishes that it could have been avoided and realises that he should have been prepared to pay the price himself for the hatred that he had roused among his fellow Etruscans. He goes to face the inevitability of death in heroic fashion, but with mixed emotions ('huge shame boils in his heart together with madness mixed with grief' – *aestuat ingens uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu* 870–1). In his final words to Aeneas, he begs to be given burial so that his body is not mistreated by the Etruscans because of their hatred. He, a man who has been identified as one infected with *furor*, now wants to be saved from the understandable fury (*fuorem* 905) of his fellow countrymen. Williams understands the final tribute:

Mezentius has been depicted in the *Aeneid* as the most hateful of all characters, yet at these last moments of his life Virgil evokes a kind of sympathy even for him. ... in the vicious tyrant Mezentius we see at the last full heroic acceptance of death when it comes.¹⁴⁵

In contrast to Mezentius, Virgil presents Tarchon, the possible founder of Tarquinia.¹⁴⁶ He is in command of the Etruscan forces, but respects the

warning of the gods given by the soothsayer (8.499–503), unlike Mezentius, the *contemptor divum*. He offers command to Evander, a non-Italian, who refuses because of his age, but cannot offer it to Evander's son Pallas, because he has an Italian mother (8.505–11).¹⁴⁷ This opens the way for Aeneas to be asked to lead the Etruscan forces. The fact that Tarchon relinquishes command is very much in the best interests of the Etruscans, as he shows himself to be an impulsive leader. He follows Aeneas down the Tiber with his ship, but, in his enthusiasm to come ashore, he runs the ship onto a sandbank, where it breaks up (10.290–307). Williams states that 'the wild impetuosity of Tarchon, in his deep and bitter hatred for Mezentius, stands in marked contrast with the purposeful and calm leadership of Aeneas'.¹⁴⁸

It is Tarchon, however, who joins Aeneas at the beginning of Book 11 in building funeral pyres for the dead and in mourning their loss. It is also Tarchon whom Jupiter chooses to rally the Etruscans during the Camilla episode in Book 11 (727–759). It is interesting that Virgil (line 747) echoes the words with which he begins his great epic to refer to Tarchon at this point (*arma virumque ferens*). The choice of words helps to emphasise a similarity between Tarchon and Aeneas.

Tarchon's harangue of the Etruscans blames them for giving way before a woman (Camilla) (11.729–740). He suggests that Etruscans never hang back when it comes to love affairs, Bacchic dancing or feasting, except to wait for the approval of the gods through their soothsayers. This portrayal seems to be in line with the general picture of Etruscans in Virgil's time as lovers of the good life and believers in the power of soothsayers.

Tarchon himself, however, behaves in heroic mould when he risks his life (*moriturus*) and leads the charge against the enemy (11.741–4). He pulls Venulus from his horse onto his own and carries him from battle into captivity. Virgil uses an excellent simile of the eagle and snake to further illustrate this action (11.751–6). It is appropriate that Tarchon is likened to an eagle, as he is the chosen conduit of Jupiter. Tarchon's brave leadership has the desired effect and the Etruscans rally.

The picture of the Etruscans which emerges from Virgil is that of loyal allies to the Trojans (Romans). He introduces one rogue figure, Mezentius, perhaps the most unpleasant character in his epic, whom he uses to show the qualities and values which the Etruscans cannot tolerate. All other Etruscans unite in their opposition to this cruel man. It could be argued that Virgil's use of *superbo* in 8.481 (repeated at 11.15) means that Virgil wants the reader to see similarities between the behaviour of Mezentius and that of Tarquinius Superbus, whom, together with his family, Livy presents as the one rotten apple in the Etruscan basket. Feeney makes the important point that of those mentioned in the Etruscan catalogue (10.163–213) only Asilas, who is a soothsayer, has a part to play in the rest of the story.¹⁴⁹ Feeney sees this as acknowledgement of the fact that Etruscan soothsayers were still consulted in Virgil's own time, while other Etruscans had been subsumed within the greater Roman race.

Hall has some interesting arguments to make about Tarchon and Mezentius.¹⁵⁰ He suggests that Virgil's *fidus Achates* is intended to represent Agrippa and Tarchon Maecenas. He argues that Virgil, so that he does not ignore what happened in history between the Romans and the Etruscans, uses the contrast between Tarchon and Mezentius to represent the different phases of Roman/Etruscan relationships. Tarchon is the 'co-operative, constructive' phase and Mezentius the 'aggressive, destructive' one. This might be in accord with the picture of the Roman/Etruscan relationships given by Livy in the first ten books of his History. What is clear, however, is that Virgil presents a positive picture of the Etruscans with the exception of Mezentius. He may have used Mezentius to remind the Romans of Tarquinius Superbus, as he shows how the rest of the Etruscans were repelled by the actions of the tyrannical Mezentius and expelled him in just the same way in which the Romans dealt with Tarquinius.

The importance of the Trojan Dardanus in the second half of the *Aeneid*

In a highly persuasive paper Wilhelm makes a very strong argument for the importance of the Etruscans to both Virgil and Augustus.¹⁵¹ He concentrates his argument on Virgil's use of Dardanus, with an origin in Etruria, as the source of Trojan Aeneas's Homeric ancestry.¹⁵² Dardanus is the half-mortal son of Zeus and Electra, the daughter of Atlas king of Italy and the wife of the Etruscan Corythus. Wilhelm stresses the importance of Corythus in the *Aeneid*. At 7.209 Latinus tells the Trojans that he remembers the story that Dardanus set out for Troy from the Etruscan home of Corythus (*Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede*). At line 9 in Book 10 Aeneas set off with Pallas to meet Tarchon near Caere. Tarchon had been collecting troops from the furthest cities of Corythus (*extremas Corythi penetravit ad urbes*). At 10.719 Acron, a Greek exiled from his homeland, had been recruited by Tarchon from the territory of Corythus (*antiquis Corythi de finibus*). The fourth mention of Corythus is at 3.170. The *Penates* appear to Aeneas in a dream and tell him that his destination is Hesperia, where he must look for Corythus and the lands of Ausonia (*Corythum terrasque requirat Ausonias*). This for Reed is a major problem with Virgil's Etruscan story of Dardanus, as he equates Corythus with Cortona, which is near to Arezzo and Lake Trasimene rather than close to Rome.¹⁵³ The first three passages (7.209, 9.10, 10.719) do not identify Corythus as a place but as the ruler of an area of Etruria. It could be argued that in the fourth passage (3.170) Corythus refers to a place. It could also be argued that it still refers to the person or even could be taken as an example of hendiadys so that it would mean to 'the Ausonian lands of Corythus'. Corythus could also be considered an example of metonymy for Etruria, just as Mars is metonymy for war. This chapter argues that it refers to the person, not the place Cortona. Although the chapter is in agreement with Wilhelm, it considers that he makes a mistake when he writes 'Aeneas in

specifically told to go to Corythus' (Cortona).¹⁵⁴ The Latin *requirat* does not mean 'to go to' but 'to search for'. In other words, Aeneas is told to search for the ancestral lands of Corythus in Italy. This would remove the reservation that Reed has about the Etruscan version of Dardanus told by Virgil. It is from Etruria that Dardanus went to Troy (7.205–11; 7.239–244; 8.134). Virgil weaves this heritage into his epic as 'a key element in the ancestral linking of Aeneas to Italy'.¹⁵⁵ This gives importance to the contribution of the Etruscans in the *Aeneid* and reflects Virgil's own background and that of many of his friends in the court of Augustus. Reed argues that Virgil is the only ancient source to give Dardanus an Etruscan, rather than the usual Arcadian, background.¹⁵⁶ He does not, however, ask why this might have been the case. He seems to be ignorant of Wilhelm's article in which strong reasons are argued for this unusual fact. Much is made, notably in Book 3, of the Trojans' false assumption that their *patria* is Crete, because of Teucer, so that concentration is on Dardanus as founder of Troy. Anchises finally realises his mistake and the sum of the oracles and signs persuades him and Aeneas to make for Hesperia.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, following Varro, writes that Atlas is king of Arcadia, rather than Italy as argued by Wilhelm, and that is where Dardanus is born.¹⁵⁷ Later he helped Teucer in a war in Phrygia, married his daughter Bateia and inherited the kingship through her. Dionysius' emphasis on the Greek nature of his background stresses the importance of Greece to Rome and claims that through Aeneas Rome is really Greek in nature.¹⁵⁸ Wilhelm sees Virgil's departure from the accepted version of the story as a way to highlight the Etruscan contribution to Italian and Roman civilisation and to the Augustan Age. He argues that this was very important to Augustus, who stressed both his Trojan ancestry and his Etruscan links.

'Virgil's friendship with Maecenas, his Etruscan patron, undoubtedly instilled in Vergil sympathetic feelings towards a people whose devotion to the gods offered a paradigm of pre-Roman *pietas*'.¹⁵⁹

Virgil is flattering Augustus and others in his circle of friends, since Augustus, Maecenas, Agrippa and Livia could claim to have Etruscan heritage.¹⁶⁰ Hall claims that 'fifty-four of the eighty-two consuls, in the period from Octavian's entry into politics until his death, are of Etruscan descent or possess Etruscan marriage ties', as well as various praetors, quaestors and equestrians.¹⁶¹ He also points to the number of men of Etruscan origin among Augustus' close advisers.¹⁶² He follows Palmer in arguing that Agrippa came from Pisa, although his family name Vipsanius suggests a possible origin in Venetia.¹⁶³ He also indicates an Etruscan link in Augustus' own family through Octavia, the daughter of the Etruscan Ancharia. He does not, however, seem to argue that both Augustus and Livia had 'Etruscan blood in their veins', as Wilhelm claims.¹⁶⁴ In 6.756 the link between Dardanus and Augustus is emphasised by Anchises in his speech to Aeneas about the Romans of the future. Wilhelm

shows the importance of the words ‘*auctor*’ (establisher) and ‘*condere*’ (to found). Dardanus is four times identified as *auctor* (3.503; 4.365; 6.650; 8.336). In 1.33 it is Aeneas who will have the huge task of founding the Roman race (*Romanam condere gentem*) and Augustus who will inaugurate the Golden Age (*aurea condet saecula*).¹⁶⁵ This establishes the Etruscan role in the foundation of both Rome and the Golden Age, an Etruscan link bound to please Augustus.

Wilhelm also points to the importance of the *penates* in the *Aeneid* and their role in linking the Etruscan brother of Dardanus, Iasius, to the Trojans, as the *penates* came from Iasius and return home with Aeneas from the ruins of Troy. They are linked to Augustus in 8.678–84, who must have appreciated the Etruscan origin of these essential Roman deities.¹⁶⁶ Aeneas is said to have established a temple of the *penates* at Lavinium and in one of the decorative panels of the Ara Pacis he is shown sacrificing in front of the temple of the *penates* on the Velia, which had been restored by Augustus himself.¹⁶⁷

The significance of Vergil’s linking of Augustus and Aeneas to the Penates, with their Etruscan origins, should not be underestimated, for in this homage Vergil has subtly portrayed *virī Etrusci* and betrayed his personal feelings for the glorious house of Dardanus.¹⁶⁸

Just as the *penates* make a return journey with Aeneas from Asia Minor, through the Aegean to the shores of Hesperia, on the west coast of Italy, so too, according to Herodotus (1.94), do the Etruscans.

Although the concentration on the Etruscan origin begins in Book 7, there have been important indications in the first half of the epic that there will be a link between Aeneas and Etruria. When Aeneas addresses Venus (1.378–80), he tells her that he has snatched the *penates* from the enemy and that he is seeking his homeland Italy. Creusa, in her farewell to Aeneas (2.781–2), informs him that he will come to the western land where Lydian Tiber flows. The Tiber is called Lydian, because it flows through Etruria and Herodotus had written (1.94) that the Etruscans came from Lydia. In Book 3 Apollo instructs Aeneas to search for his ancient mother (3.96). In the same book the *penates* appear to Aeneas in a dream and tell him that Dardanus was sprung from Italy, and Aeneas himself tells Helenus and Andromache that Dardanus was the founder of Hesperia (3.503). In Book 4 Dido, in one of her tirades (4.365ff), exclaims that the treacherous Aeneas could not be descended from Dardanus the founder. In Book 6 Anchises begins his survey of the heroes of Rome’s future by telling Aeneas that he is viewing the offspring of Dardanus (6.756). It is also possible that Aeneas is claiming that the Trojans have returned home (*hic domus, haec patria est* – ‘this is our home, this our homeland’ 7.122) when he addresses the Trojans after Ascanius has remarked that they have eaten their tables, when, because of their hunger, they eat the stale bread on which they have placed their other food. It is, however, possible that the words refer to the future rather

than to the past, as Aeneas recalls Anchises' instructions to lay down the foundations of buildings where they eat their tables.

The Etruscan link is enhanced by references to the Tiber as Etruscan, the ties with Tarchon in Book 8, whom Aeneas meets in a grove sacred to Silvanus, the Etruscan god of nature, and the Etruscan catalogue in Book 10.163–214. The catalogue has a strong Etruscan flavour, as Wilhelm argues. He claims that the catalogue 'may have been intended as a tribute to the Etruscan contribution to the political and cultural development of Rome' as well as to the two Etruscan supporters of Augustus, Maecenas and Agrippa.¹⁶⁹ He sees strong links to Virgil's time in the catalogue, which includes nine Etruscan cities. Mantua, Virgil's birthplace is prominent in it. Massicus has the Augustan title of *princeps* and Abas in his ship is reminiscent of Augustus and Agrippa at Actium (8. 678–684). Asilas is *princeps* too (11.620), but here is *hominum divumque interpres* (10.175) to emphasise the Etruscan contribution to religion.¹⁷⁰ Last of all, it is Aeneas who heads the procession. 'Aeneas has returned home to lead his Etruscans to Augustan victory'.¹⁷¹

Finally, Wilhelm shows how prominent the use of Dardanus is in the Dido story. He points to Dido's curse being a link between Hannibal, the *ultor*, and the Dardanian settlers. He could have made more of this fact. The proem of the epic points to the importance of Carthage as a reason for Juno's hatred of the Trojans and her attempts to stop them reaching Hesperia. When her attempt to bring about a union of Dido and Aeneas, and thus prevent the foundation of Rome, fails, it is fitting that Dido in her curses (4.625–6; 4.638–40; 4.646–7; 4.657–8; 4.661–2) should identify the Trojans as they truly are – the descendants of Dardanus returning to the *patria* which Aeneas has identified to her in 1.378–80 and emphasised again in Book 4. For a curse to be effective, it must surely identify the target correctly, as to identify them incorrectly as of Cretan or Greek origin would be to nullify the effects of the curse.

Conclusions

It has been shown that Aeneas was the subject of a foundation myth in southern Etruria in the late sixth century BC. A case has been made, in spite of Spivey's emphatic denial, for the movement of peoples from Asia Minor to Italy in the late Mycenaean Age.¹⁷² It is conceded that some cast serious doubts upon this theory, while others still support it.¹⁷³ Clearly, as Perkins has argued, scientists and anthropologists relying on DNA samples and Etruscologists with archaeological expertise need to act in concert rather than in isolation to produce a solution to the problem.¹⁷⁴ If there was such a migration, it is possible that the story of Aeneas and the Trojan survivors reflects this fact. If there was not, it is still possible that the myth of Aeneas coming to Italy, which forms such an important part of the Roman story, has a basis in historical events and that Aeneas' arrival was through Etruria not through Latium. This would account for the popularity

of the Aeneas and Anchises vases in southern Etruria. A strong case can be made for that foundation myth being known in Rome during the period of Etruscan rule in the sixth and early fifth century BC. Fragments from Stesichorus and Hellanicus seem to link Troy to Rome. There may have been cult worship of Aeneas in Latium in the fourth century BC, but probably not before that date. The myth was a well-established theory by the end of the third century BC. Lycophron, at the beginning of the third century, supports the theory that Aeneas came through Etruria to Latium, something which would give weight to the evidence of the vases. Both Naevius and Ennius link the Trojans to Rome. In the second century BC the family of the Iulii Caesares claimed descent from Iulus, son of Aeneas and grandson of Venus. By the time of Virgil (70–19 BC) the story of Aeneas escaping Troy and coming to Italy and the link through him to the Julian family seem to be well established. The chapter has argued that the cumulative evidence presented is stronger than the alternate version that the story of Aeneas has a basis in the archaeological evidence from Lavinium, which seems thin at best.

Virgil seems to have come from an Etruscan family and he became a close friend of the Etruscan Maecenas, as well as Augustus and Livia, and was also well-known to Agrippa, who all seem to have had Etruscan connections.¹⁷⁵ We do not know whether he and Agrippa were friends. We only know that Agrippa did not like his poetic style, which he thought had been spoilt by the influence of Maecenas.¹⁷⁶ Virgil had emulated Theocritus when he wrote the *Eclogues* and Hesiod when writing the *Georgics*. He then had to decide what his next challenge should be. He clearly knew Homer's works very well. He may even have known them by heart. He may have decided that he wanted to write a Roman epic to rival those of Homer. At the same time it is possible that Maecenas put to him the idea of a Roman epic to honour Augustus. They may well have discussed the kind of epic which would be suitable. It would obviously be appropriate to find some link to the Homeric epic cycle. This could either be through one of the surviving Greek heroes or through Aeneas, who Poseidon foretold would not die at Troy. If there was a foundation myth of Aeneas in southern Etruria, it is highly likely that it would have been known to Maecenas and Virgil, whether it has been transmitted to Rome from Etruria or not. They would also have known of the link claimed by Augustus' family to Venus through Aeneas. The choice of Aeneas, therefore, satisfied all the pre-requisites for his epic. It also allowed him the freedom to develop the story in his own way. Virgil faced great challenges in satisfying such disparate criteria, as Griffin explained, and it is testament to his skill that he was able to do so in his great Roman epic.¹⁷⁷ Hall, too, showed how skilfully Virgil rose to these challenges.¹⁷⁸

There is clearly an Etruscan element in the second half of the *Aeneid*, in which Etruscan forces unite with Aeneas to fight the Rutulian and Latin forces led by Turnus, with whom the evil Etruscan king Mezentius has taken refuge. Virgil also stresses the story of Dardanus and the fact that Aeneas and the *penates* are returning home, as Wilhelm argues. The argument of this

chapter is that there is a strong Etruscan element in Virgil's *Aeneid* and that Virgil's relationship with Maecenas may have been influential in bringing this about. So, too, may have Virgil's own Etruscan background.

Many of the issues discussed in this chapter are, by definition, not new. They must, however, be reassessed, because it is the sum of all these issues which, provides a stronger case for the importance of the Etruscan legend of Aeneas than the arguments put forward for the Latin version. The chapter has suggested that it may well be a result of discussions between Virgil and Maecenas that Virgil settled on Aeneas as the hero of his epic. The chapter has also argued that the Etruscan background of both Virgil and Maecenas may have contributed to this decision.

Notes

- 1 Alföldi (1957, 1971); Galinsky (1969, 1992); Horsfall (1987); Cornell (1995); Perkell (1999).
- 2 Verg. *G.* 3.46–48 (Extract 3).
- 3 Hall (1982, 44).
- 4 Wilhelm (1992)
- 5 Suet. *Verg.* 2.
- 6 Suet. *Verg.* 1.
- 7 Hall (1982, 44–5). See Schulze (1904, 100) and Gordon (1934, 1ff). Virgil himself (*Aeneid* 10.203) states that Mantua's strength came from its Etruscan blood (*Tusco de sanguine vires*).
- 8 Suet. *Verg.* 6–7. See Griffin (2005, 306–7).
- 9 Fowler D.P. and P.G. in *OCD* (2012, 1555). *Catalepton* 5.7–12 states that Virgil was going to study with the Epicurean Siro near Naples.
- 10 Suet. *Verg.* 19; Donat. *Vit. Verg.* (Extract 152).
- 11 Suet. *Verg.* 25. Fowler, D.P. and P.G. in *OCD* (2012, 1555) give 39–7, as does Suerbaum in *New Pauly* (2010, 15, 296).
- 12 Suet. *Verg.* 20 (Extract 93); Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 5.70 (Extract 148); Servius *Preface to Vita Vergili* (Extract 153).
- 13 For example Osgood (2006, 109) quoting the evidence of Horace *Satires* 1.6.54–5.
- 14 Cf p. 67–8
- 15 Suet. *Verg.* 11.
- 16 Suet. *Verg.* 13; Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 3.40 (Extract 147).
- 17 Suet. *Verg.* 27 (Extract 94); Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 6.91 (Extract 149).
- 18 Appendix A. Extracts 1–4.
- 19 Serv. *Aen.* 6.861.
- 20 Suet. *Verg.* 35–6. Suerbaum in *NP* (2010, 15, 296).
- 21 Suet. *Verg.* 37 (Extract 95); Pliny *HN* 7.114; Donat. *Vit. Verg.* 8.138 (Extract 150).
- 22 Suet. *Verg.* 39–41.
- 23 The research for this chapter reached a conclusion which, as we shall see, was also reached by Hall (1982) about the relevance of the Etruscan background for Virgil's choice. The chapter does not argue that 'Maecenas intended to create an Etruscan literary lobby or to Etruscanize Rome'. It concludes that discussion between Virgil and Maecenas might have led to his choice of epic hero.
- 24 Alföldi (1971); Horsfall (1987); Galinsky (1992).
- 25 For modern analysis of the sources see below p. 120ff.

- 26 Hom. *Il.* 20.156–352.
- 27 West (2003) *Cypria* Fr 23. She is known as Kreousa/Creusa elsewhere.
- 28 West (2003) *Iliu Persis* Fr 1.
- 29 Hes. *Theog.* 1008–1010.
- 30 *PMGF* Fr 205.
- 31 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.45ff.
- 32 *FGrH* 4 F 31.
- 33 *FGrH* 556 F 59–60.
- 34 Lycoph. *Alex.* 1226ff.
- 35 Mair (1921, 307–14) identifies problems with Lycophron's assessment of Rome's power in 1226ff., but suggests that it may be in response to Rome's victory over Pyrrhus. His use of two stories connected with Aeneas' arrival in Italy suggests that these stories were already part of a literary source which we no longer have.
- 36 Warmington (1936) Vol. 2 Naevius *Bellum Punicum* Fr 1.5–13.
- 37 Thilo and Hagen (1881-7) Servius *Commentary on Vergil Aeneid*.
- 38 Warmington (1936) Vol. 1 Enn. *Ann.* 1 Fr 56.
- 39 Cato, *Orig.* 1.
- 40 Sall. *Cat.* 6.1.
- 41 There is no mention of his wife. Other sources usually refer to Aeneas as the father of only one son, Ascanius.
- 42 *FGrH* Vol 1 (no.4) frag. 31.
- 43 Pearson (ed.) (1963, 44 frag. 373).
- 44 Cary (2001, 160 in a footnote to his Loeb translation) states:
 'The route of Aeneas as traced by Virgil agrees so closely for the most part with that given by Dionysius as to suggest that both authors were drawing largely on the same source. The differences in their accounts can easily be explained when we bear in mind that one was a historian who prided himself on his chronological studies (chap. 74, 2) and the other a poet who gave free rein to his imagination. Thus Dionysius was bound to reject the visit of Aeneas to Carthage, if, as seems probable, he accepted Timaeus' date for the founding of that city'.
- 45 The area of southern Etruria in the sixth century BC stretched north from just outside Rome to Vulci. It included the important Etruscan towns of Vulci, Tarquinia, Cerveteri and Veii. Also important to this discussion is the Latin settlement of Lavinium due south of Rome, which was occupied by the Etruscans in this period.
- 46 Spivey (1997, 7).
- 47 Beekes (2003) referring to Palmucci (2001), who argued that Tarchon, the eponymous founder of Tarquinia, came from Anatolia. Palmucci argued, therefore, that the story of Aeneas in Italy was preceded by a version where the journey involving people from modern Turkey went from Troy to Etruria.
- 48 Hdt. 1.93–4.
- 49 Alinei (2013).
- 50 Palmucci (2013, 16–19).
- 51 Beekes (2003, 34) citing Hdt. 1.94.
- 52 Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences (DOI 10.1098/rspb.2006.0258).
- 53 Achilli e altri (2007). It would be interesting if DNA tests could be taken to show whether the people of southern Etruria had any link with the people who inhabited the area south of the Propontis.
- 54 Barbujani (06/02/2013) 'An Etruscan Origin in Anatolia?' on PLoS from the University of Wisconsin, USA.
- 55 Palmucci (2013, 16–19).

- 56 Perkins (2009, 95–111).
- 57 The Aeneas and Anchises myth was the second most popular Trojan War scene on vases from southern Etruria. The Judgment of Paris was the most popular with 98, but we have provenances for 20 other versions of this myth outside Italy and Sicily, such as Eleusis and Marseilles.
- 58 Borrelli and Targia (2003, 48).
- 59 Reusser (2002, 146–7).
- 60 Lowenstam (2008, 35–9, 139–48, 157–65).
- 61 Appendix B shows the provenance of these vase where known. There is only one from Greece (Agora P6180), which was found in a well in the agora and was probably discarded, because it was imperfect.
- 62 Beazley (*ABV* and *ARV*) lists about one thousand black-figure vases from Vulci. Of these there are three hundred and eighty which have representations of gods and two hundred and forty one with representations of Herakles. He also lists about eight hundred red-figure vases from Vulci. He gives a total of one thousand three hundred black and red-figure vases from the rest of southern Etruria. Most of these vases were discovered in the early nineteenth century during the plundering of tombs by Lucien Bonaparte and others. It is worth noting that they smashed many vases at the time in order to keep the price for vases high.
- 63 *LIMC* Vol.1 and Vol. 6.
- 64 The rest are: one Etrusco-Corinthian, 6 Attic Red-figure and one Attic white-ground.
- 65 There rest are: hydria 3, olpe 3, krater 2, lekythos 2, one oenochoe, one kylix and one kalpis.
- 66 Schauenburg (1960, 177ff).
- 67 Schauenburg had not included seven in Beazley's list, and four of Beazley's are not in *LIMC*. Schauenburg listed eighteen vases which were not in *LIMC*, yet he did not include eight vases listed by *LIMC*, six under Aeneas and two under Kreousa.
- 68 Schauenburg (1960, 187).
- 69 The research involved careful investigation of *ABV*, *ARV*, *LIMC* and various volumes of *CVA*. The results are shown in Appendix B.
- 70 There are still 14 vases for which I have yet to find an illustration, although they are listed in one of the reference books. Dates are not available for about a third of the vases.
- 71 Horsfall (1987, 18) writes, without supporting evidence, that there are 21 with Etruscan provenance, but I have been able to identify only 19.
- 72 Alföldi (1971, 182–6).
- 73 Leighton (2004, 12).
- 74 Ridley (2000, 2004).
- 75 Horsfall (1987) claims, however, that there are 15 vases.
- 76 Alföldi (1971, 283).
- 77 Hom. *Il.* 20.307ff.
- 78 Naevius *Bellum Punicum* 1.5–10. This, of course, means that Anchises had a Trojan wife, although he fathered Aeneas with the goddess Venus.
- 79 Naevius *Bellum Punicum* 1.13.
- 80 Horsfall (1987, 18).
- 81 Woodford (2003, 88–9 & 191–8).
- 82 For example this Attic black-figure amphora c500 BC from the Antikensammlungen, Munich (1554/J1187) from Vulci. *LIMC* K 18, *ABV* 392 [Figure 2.1]. Author's own photograph published by kind permission of Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.

- 83 British Museum B 280 c 510 BC from Vulci *LIMC* K16, *ABV* 589 [Figure 2.2]. Picture kindly provided by The Trustees of the British Museum, All rights reserved.
- 84 Tarquinia Museum RG 976 c520/510 BC from Tarquinia *LIMC* A70, *ABV* 269.
- 85 Attic black-figure amphora c520/510 BC from Leiden Museum (PC 50) from Vulci. *LIMC* A61 *ABV* 372 [Figure 2.3]. Picture kindly provided by National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).
- 86 Attic black-figure amphora from Vulci c510 BC from Leiden Museum (PC 49). *LIMC* A66, *ABV* 371 [Figure 2.4]. Picture kindly provided by National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden).
- 87 Smith (1999, 64).
- 88 Reusser (2002, 146–7). Lowenstam (2008, 3) issues a cautionary note when he writes:

‘The idea of a model often embraces a value judgment, the determination that an Etruscan or a Roman, for example, could not have independently devised such a skilful artwork, and therefore must have imitated a Greek “original”. In what I have defined as an interactive culture, several similar versions of a subject merely demonstrate that one multiform of the tradition has become momentarily popular. Sometimes there was no ideological reason: for instance, Achilles’ immolation of the Trojan youths, which Etruscan artists depicted repeatedly in the fourth century B.C.E., conveyed an anti-Roman message, but there was no monumental model that each artist copied. Or the reason for repetition may be as simple as the fact that one image sold extremely well or one workshop was obsessed with the message it was producing’.
- 89 These dates might be significant as they overlap the period when Athens became a democracy and Rome expelled the Tarquins and became a republic. At present, however, a link cannot be established between those events and the vases.
- 90 Quinn (1969, 38).
- 91 Haynes (2000, 205).
- 92 Martinelli and Paolucci (2006, 74).
- 93 Horsfall (1987, 18).
- 94 Perret (1942).
- 95 Bérard (1957). His original article (1943) was republished as a second edition in book form.
- 96 Bömer (1951).
- 97 Schauenburg (1960).
- 98 Moore and Philippides (1986, pl 62).
- 99 Schauenburg (1960, 187).
- 100 Harrison in *OCD* (2012, 23).
- 101 Perkell (1999, 13).
- 102 Harrison in *OCD* (2012, 23).
- 103 Jacoby no.4, frag.84, cf DH 1.72; Jacoby no. 5, frag. 3, cf DH 1.72. Cornell (1995, 64) discusses Stesichorus, Hellanicus and Damastes.
- 104 Harrison in *OCD* (2012, 23). Jacoby no.566, frag. 60, cf. DH 1.74.
- 105 Haynes (2000, 205).
- 106 Bonfante and Swadling (2006, 11–20).
- 107 Casali (2010, 37–51). It is worth noting that Casali ignores the important paper of Wilhelm when citing commentators on the Dardanus story.
- 108 For example Alföldi (1971); Horsfall (1987); Galinsky (1992).
- 109 Alföldi (1957, 1971).
- 110 Alföldi (1971, 284). He does not specify which southern Etruscan cities he means.

- 111 Galinsky (1969, 1992, 93–108).
- 112 Galinsky (1992, 97).
- 113 Galinsky (1992, 160).
- 114 Galinsky (1992, 241).
- 115 Horsfall (1987, 18).
- 116 Dury-Moyaers (1981, 173).
- 117 Cornell (1995, 63–8).
- 118 Cornell (1995, 63). Price (*LIMC* Vol.1.1, 388) argues that they are from the early fifth century BC.
- 119 Cornell (1995, 68).
- 120 Hall (1982, 47–8).
- 121 Harrison in *OCD* (2012, 23).
- 122 Alföldi (1965).
- 123 Grandazzi (1997) discusses the paths of memory (177–211) with some specific examples of oral tradition (187–8).
- 124 Perkell (1999, 13): ‘By the time of Vergil, the Aeneas story had become associated primarily with the family of the Julii, which for centuries had claimed descent from Aeneas’.
- 125 Balsdon (1967, 1–2). He refers to *RRC* 1.325 (103 BC). There is an earlier one from 129 BC (*RRC* 1.254). Presumably Balsdon means after Pydna (168 BC), the destruction of Corinth and annexation of Greece as a province in 146 BC. He gives no supporting evidence. Erskine (2001, 21) points to the publication by Sextus Iulius Caesar of a denarius with Venus in a chariot on the reverse in 129 BC.
- 126 Zanker (1990, 35). He refers to *RRC* 1.471 (no. 458) 46 BC, *RRC* 1.502 (no. 494) 42 BC and Niggeler no. 1007 (Giard no. 19) for the Octavian denarius.
- 127 Erskine (2001, 18).
- 128 Livy acknowledges the influence of the Etruscans on the Roman way of life in terms of lictors, the curule chair, the purple-bordered toga, augury, architecture (the temple of Jupiter), workmen (1.7.3; 1.34.9; 1.55.6; 1.56), and boxing and horse events (1.35.9). Ogilvie (1965, 62, 88, 92) also lists the fasces, intercalation, the pontificate, the cult of Egeria and the lituus. He also considers (1976, 72) that the *Ludi Romani* were inherited from the Etruscans through the Tarquins.
- 129 See for example Everitt (2006, 222–3).
- 130 Zanker (1990, 167–238).
- 131 The epithet *pius* is applied to Aeneas 20 times in the Aeneid and *pietas* refers to him 11 times. See Mountford (2005, 82).
- 132 Livy 40.34.4–6 (*aedes duae eo anno [181 BC] dedicatae sunt. una Veneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam; dedicavit L. Porcius L.F. Licinius duumvir, vota erat a consule L. Porcio Ligustino bello. altera in foro holitorio Pietatis: eam aedem dedicavit M'. Acilius Glabrio duumvir; statuamque auratam, quae prima omnium in Italia statua aurata est, patris Glabrionis posuit. is erat qui ipse aedem voverat, quo die cum rege Antilocho ad Thermopylas depugnasset [191 BC], locaveratque idem ex senatus consulto.* - ‘Two temples were dedicated that year. L. Porcius Licinius, son of Lucius, dedicated one of Venus of Eryx, which had been vowed by the consul L. Porcius in the war with Liguria. The other was of *Pietas* in the vegetable market: M’. Acilius Glabrio the *duumvir* dedicated that temple; he set up there a gilt statue of his father Glabrio, the first ever gilt statue in Italy. He was the man who had vowed the temple on the day on which he had defeated king Antiochus at Thermopylae, and let out the contracts with a decree of the senate.’ *RG* 19.2. Platner – Ashby (1929–, 388) notes that the temple was struck by lightning in 167 BC and was restored by Augustus.
- 133 Griffin (2005, 318).

- 134 Syme (1939, 466).
- 135 The only reference to the Etruscans in the *Georgics* is 2.193 where the 'plump Etruscan' (*pinguis Tyrrhenus*) is said to be playing a pipe at a sacrifice. The plumpness of the Etruscan fits with other references to the Etruscans as lovers of luxury.
- 136 Williams (1973, 165).
- 137 Verg. *A.* 8.505ff.
- 138 Livy (1.2) writes that the help of Mezentius, king of Caere, was enlisted by Turnus after the initial defeat of the Rutulians by Aeneas and the Latins. Aeneas and the Latins defeated the Rutulians and the Etruscans, but Aeneas was killed in the battle. Dionysius (1.64–5) follows Livy's version. He writes that Aeneas died in the fourth year after taking over Latinus' kingdom in a battle against the Rutulians aided by the Etruscan king Mezentius. In due course Mezentius was defeated by Ascanius, but was spared and became a friend of the Latins.
- 139 Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.647. Williams (1973, 215).
- 140 There are many examples of Cicero using this device in *In Verrem* for example.
- 141 This could be a hint from Virgil that he, as a Mantuan, strongly opposes tyranny and cruelty just as his ancestors came so far to oppose this arrogant and cruel king.
- 142 Verg. *A.* 10.689–701. I find it interesting that it is Jupiter who urges Mezentius to take the place of Turnus in leading the fight. At the start of Book 10 Jupiter says that it is time for peace. Urging Mezentius to become a target for Aeneas hastens his death and removes one more delay to the bringing about of peace.
- 143 Williams (1973, 365–6).
- 144 Of the other similes which Virgil uses to describe Mezentius in this passage two are of wild animals (wild boar (10.708–718) and lion (10.723–8)). Turnus, too, is often likened to wild animals, such as a lion (9.792f; 10.454f; 12.4f). There are many similarities between these two characters.
- 145 Williams (1973, 375–6).
- 146 Hall (1982, 44) argues that Tarchon was also founder of Virgil's Mantua and Agrippa's Pisa.
- 147 It is interesting that Evander chose a Sabine bride just as Romulus resorted to seizing Sabine women to overcome a shortage among his own people and thus intermingled Roman and Sabine blood.
- 148 Williams (1973, 341).
- 149 Feeney (1999).
- 150 Hall (1982, 48–9).
- 151 Wilhelm (1992, 129–45). Galinsky (2005b, 346) considers that this was the first time that Aeneas was given an Italian ancestor in the form of Dardanus.
- 152 There are seventy-five uses of Dardanus and associated forms in the *Aeneid* compared to one hundred and twenty-seven of Teucer and associated forms, and eighty-two of Tros/Troianus and associated forms. The decision to use one of these will much have depended on the requirements of the hexameter and the position of the word in the line. There is clearly, however, a significant use of Dardanus in the *Aeneid*.
- 153 Reed (2007, 11–12).
- 154 Wilhelm (1992, 132).
- 155 Wilhelm (1992, 131).
- 156 Reed (2007, 10–12). Reed completely ignores the earlier work of Wilhelm on this topic.
- 157 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3.
- 158 Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.61–2.

- 159 Wilhelm (1992, 134–5).
- 160 Hall (1984b, 2578–80).
- 161 Hall (1982, 47).
- 162 Hall (1984b, 2578–80) identifies, apart from Maecenas and Agrippa, C. Proculius, C. Rabirius Postumus, C. Hostilius Saserna, Caecina of Volaterra, C. Carrinas, C. Vibius Pansa, L. Cestius, C. Norbanus, D. Carfulenus, P. Titius. The importance of the positions held by these men suggests a willingness on the part of Augustus to involve Etruscans in developing Rome's future. This militates against Bittarello's (2009) claim of Etruscan otherness.
- 163 Palmer (1983).
- 164 Wilhelm (1992, 135).
- 165 Wilhelm (1992, 135).
- 166 *hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar/ cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis/ stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammis/ laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus./ parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis/ arduus agmen agens, cui, belli insigne superbum,/ tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.* – 'On one side Augustus Caesar was leading the men of Italy into battle along with the senate, the people, and the city's great gods. He stood high on the stern and from his radiant forehead streamed twin flames, as his father's star shone above. On the other side sailed Agrippa with the winds and the gods on his side, as he led the fleet from his lofty position. Round his temples was a shining band with representations of the beaks of enemy ships, the famous naval crown.'
- 167 RG 19.
- 168 Wilhelm (1992, 137). He cites Galinsky (1969, 146–9 and 154–6) as authority for Aeneas establishing a temple of the *penates* at Lavinium. Galinsky identifies the importance of the Trojanization of the *penates* of Lavinium in the fourth century BC together with their assimilation to the *penates* of Rome.
- 169 Wilhelm (1992, 140–1). He cites Palmer (1983) as supporting evidence for Agrippa having a background from Etruscan Pisa.
- 170 Wilhelm points out that Asilas came from Pisa, the possible home of Agrippa.
- 171 Wilhelm (1992, 141).
- 172 Spivey (1997, 7). *Contra* for example Alinei (2013).
- 173 For, for example, Perkins, Swaddling and Perkins (2009); against, for example, Alinei (2013).
- 174 Perkins, Swaddling and Perkins (2009, 106–7).
- 175 Hall (1982, 46) argues that: 'There would be few who would question Vergil's own friendship with and support of Augustus by the time of the *Aeneid's* composition'. He also considers (47) that: 'Although Vergil did not pursue the *cursus honorum* and rise with his fellow Etruscans through Augustus' patronage, his own support of the emperor and his program were of incomparable value to it, for Vergil's effective presentation of Augustan propaganda served indisputably to legitimise the regime'.
- 176 Suet. *Verg.* 44 (Extract 96).
- 177 Griffin (2005, 318 – see above p. 127–8).
- 178 Hall (1982, 44 – see above p. 124).

3 Quintus Horatius Flaccus

Horace was not an Etruscan like Maecenas, Virgil and, arguably, Propertius. Nor was he from an area of the Po valley in northern Italy which was colonised by the Etruscans between the end of the sixth and the early part of the fifth century BC,¹ which is the area from which Virgil and Livy originated, or the borders of Umbria and Etruria, where Propertius was born and grew up. He was from the borders of Apulia and Lucania in southern Italy.² Nor can there be detected an Etruscan flavour in his poetry. It is necessary, however, to flesh out the summary of Horace in the first chapter to give a fuller picture of the important relationship between Horace and Maecenas. To have done so in the chapter on Maecenas would have given the part of the chapter on the group of poets under the patronage of Maecenas an uneven balance and deflected from the biography of Maecenas, the focus of the chapter.

There are four important issues which merit further discussion. First, Horace was, as Fraenkel and Nisbet observe, the ancient poet who through his writing tells us more about himself than any other poet.³ Secondly, it is possible to learn much about Maecenas from Horace's poetry. As Fraenkel rightly claims, Horace's life is so inextricably intertwined with that of Maecenas that his autobiography would be incomplete, if it did not tell us also much about the life of Maecenas.⁴ Thirdly, Horace's poetry gives us much more information about the role of Maecenas as a patron than can be gleaned from Virgil, Propertius or any other ancient source.⁵ From his poetry we learn about the development of their relationship from that of patron and client to one of intimate friendship. Fourthly, the poems inform us about the way in which the relationship between Horace and Maecenas also involves the relationship of each of them with Augustus. These are the four issues which this chapter addresses. A brief biography, mostly from his own pen, helps us to understand his place in Roman society of the Augustan Age. His own information is supplemented by the brief *Vita Horati*, which is ascribed to Suetonius.⁶ How he presented Maecenas is important, because he was the writer who knew him best of all. Their relationship, one of the closest of that period, broadens our understanding of Maecenas and his role as patron of a group of poets. Finally, it is important to examine the way in which Horace engaged with the Augustan regime. Syme makes an important point when he writes:

The dearth of prose enhances the poets. Horace is in no danger of being underestimated. His testimony covers a wide range, from acts and aspirations of the government to his friendship with Maecenas and his subtle comportment towards the Princeps.⁷

The life of Horace from his own poetry and from other sources

The poet Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace) was born in Venusia in southern Italy on 8 December 65 BC.⁸ Nisbet points out that Horace seems to have considered himself to be 'a Sabellus or Samnite'.⁹ He was the freeborn son of a freedman.¹⁰ Williams argues that his father was probably enslaved because of Venusia's opposition to Rome in the Social War and Rome's treatment of the town in 88 BC, but later obtained his freedom, a view with which Rudd agrees.¹¹ According to Horace, his father was an auctioneer, and as such became wealthy enough to support his son's education in Rome, as Williams, West and Armstrong observe.¹² Horace pays tribute to his father in *Satires* 1.6.70–88.¹³ He writes that his father, although poor (almost certainly an exaggeration), gathered together enough money to be able to provide Horace with a better education in Rome than he would receive locally among the self-important sons of centurions (who, presumably, had been granted land in the area upon discharge) and one that any *eques* or patrician would give his own son.¹⁴ Horace points to the fact that his clothing and attendants would have suggested family wealth to those who saw him.¹⁵ His father not only brought him to Rome for schooling, but also accompanied him to his lessons and acted as a moral guardian during his time in Rome.¹⁶ Horace writes that, once he had completed his education in Rome, his father sent him to Athens to further his education in philosophy and rhetoric like any son of the upper classes.¹⁷ Williams suggests that Horace's father must have had significant wealth to have been able to provide his son with an education in Rome and then to send him to Athens for further study, a view with which West concurs.¹⁸ It is possible that his father had bought a property on the Esquiline Hill, the area frequented by Maecenas and some of his group of poets.¹⁹ No father could have done more to try to advance the career of his son, and Horace was eternally grateful.

It seems likely that Horace was in Athens some time before the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. Fraenkel made an important point about Horace's time in Athens. He writes:

I like to think that it was at Athens that Horace first came across the bulk of pre-classic and classic Greek lyrics and that in those happy days he now and then may even have dreamed of paying homage to the half-forgotten masters by renewing in his native tongue their forms and some of their themes.²⁰

While Horace was there, he was inspired by a visit of Brutus to join the side of those who assassinated Julius Caesar.²¹ Horace joined the cause and was

given promotion to *tribunus militum*, in spite of his total lack of military experience, a major step-up for one of his background.²² Such promotion was probably based on the fact that he was in the company of members of the equestrian class who would expect to hold such positions. It may, however, have been due to the fact that he had already obtained equestrian status through wealth inherited from his father. It is also possible that the promotion to *tribunus militum*, together with the independent means which he may have inherited from his father, may have led to his elevation to *equestrian* rank, economically the second highest class of ancient Rome. Nicolet argues that this is the case, rather than Horace's promotion to *tribunus militum* being due to his equestrian status.²³ It must have been the land and property which his father owned at that time which helped him to meet the monetary qualification for this class.²⁴

He fought at the battle of Philippi in 42 BC, at which Antony and Octavian defeated the forces of Brutus and Cassius, but fled when the battle seemed to be lost, as he himself tells us.²⁵ He was lucky to escape death in the battle, which he did by throwing away his shield.²⁶ It is not an action of which he is proud.²⁷ In the aftermath of the battle of Philippi he abandoned the party of Brutus and returned to Rome, where Suetonius tells us that he sought and was granted a pardon by Octavian.²⁸ The same aftermath, however, brought about the dispossession of his family home, as land was acquired for resettlement of soldiers. There is no information about what happened to his father, but, as Horace says no more about him, it is assumed that he died during this phase of the Civil Wars. Horace himself writes that he was deprived of the family home and farm.²⁹ Armstrong argues that Horace lost the family estate in Venusia, but not his house in Rome.³⁰ He was forced to find a way of earning a living and was fortunate to be able to secure a position as a secretary to the treasury (*scriba quaestorius*), a position which produced Horace a very good income, as Suetonius tells us.³¹ If Armstrong is correct, it is reasonable to assume that Horace continued to live in the house which his father bought in Rome. If the house was on the Esquiline, he would have been living in the same area as Virgil, who had already achieved literary success with his *Eclogues* and had become acquainted with Octavian and Maecenas.

At the same time he began to experiment with writing poetry. He tells us that he took up writing poetry as a response to poverty.³² The poetry, which he felt forced to write, clearly began to impress people, among whom were fellow poets. Most importantly he became known to Virgil and Varius. This would not be unexpected, if he lived in his father's house on the Esquiline and was an aspiring poet. Through these two members of Maecenas' circle of poets he was first introduced to Maecenas in 38 BC.³³ Horace himself tells us the nature of the first meeting, especially his frankness about the humble nature of his upbringing, and the fact that it was not until eight months later that Maecenas invited him to join his literary circle.³⁴ Roman makes an interesting point about this first meeting in which Horace recounts his awkwardness:

In the end, Maecenas rewards Horace's honest humility with his friendship. If we believe this narrative [*Sat.* 1.6], Horace manages to become connected with the most powerful men in Rome by *not* being ambitious and (even more unbelievable) by *not* making a display of his considerable powers of speech.³⁵

In other words, Roman finds it difficult to believe that Horace was not ambitious and was not able to press his case effectively at the first meeting. In Roman's opinion it is usually ambitious men, who manage to connect themselves to men like Augustus and Maecenas, even if Horace himself denies that Maecenas is interested in ambitious men (*Sat.* 1.6.51–2). To be unambitious would appear, in Roman's eyes, to be an impediment to being accepted into Maecenas' circle. Roman also considers Horace's shyness in the presence of Maecenas to be contrary to the eloquence which he shows elsewhere. The meeting of Horace and Maecenas, no doubt reinforced by the time spent together on the journey to Brundisium in the following year, was the beginning of an increasingly close friendship and one which lasted the test of time.

Günther suggests, without supporting evidence that Horace was at Actium with Maecenas in 31 BC and probably also during the Sicilian Wars against Sextus Pompey in 36.³⁶ We have already seen that Harrison considers that 'most scholars now place both Maecenas and Horace at Actium'.³⁷ Two of the *Epodes* suggest that Maecenas was present at the battle of Actium and this may mean that Horace was present too.³⁸ If the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* were written by Augustus, as has been suggested, they provide support for Maecenas being at Actium. Some scholars think that the evidence for Horace being present is too scant and suggest that, if Horace were present, he would have given more detail.³⁹ It could be argued, however, that, as he expressed a reluctance to describe Augustus' military successes, he has confined himself to two vague references to Actium. The first praises Maecenas for his willingness to take the same risks as Octavian (*Epod.* 1), the second asks Maecenas when they will have the opportunity to get together for a glass of wine to celebrate the victory (*Epod.* 9), as they did the victory over Sextus Pompey. The first, then, praises Maecenas' bravery as a soldier, a characteristic which goes against the effeminate picture created by some commentators.⁴⁰ The second is far from proving the presence of either in Sicily.

André persuasively argues that both Horace and Maecenas were attracted by Epicureanism, although not to the extent that it dominated their way of life or precluded other possible philosophical views of life.⁴¹ Kytzler agrees that he belonged to the Epicureans, but admits that there is evidence also of Stoic and Cynic philosophy in his work.⁴²

Not long after the publication of Horace's first book of *Satires* (probably in 35 BC) Maecenas brought about the most significant development in Horace's life by presenting him with the small farm near modern Licenza in the Sabine hills.⁴³ It was here that Horace could avoid 'crowded Rome' and flourish as a poet.

The place is a 'citadel' (*Sat.* 2.6.16) where he can take refuge from the busyness of Rome and from the envious people who misread his friendship with Maecenas as politically motivated. Yet it cannot totally protect him from interruptions of his quiet rustic pleasure.⁴⁴

Fraenkel considers that this generous gift allowed Horace to resign from his position as a secretary or to be less involved in the work of the department.⁴⁵ Horace's poem on the town mouse and the country mouse reflects the contrast between the idyllic peace of his farm and the distractions of the city, where he is constantly interrupted by people wanting favours from Maecenas through his intercession.⁴⁶ The three odes of Book 3 which mention Maecenas (3.8., 3.16., 3.29.), as Anderson points out, 'concentrate serenely on the pleasure which is available to people like these two (Horace and Maecenas), now that Actium has ended the civil war'.⁴⁷ Over the next twenty years Horace enjoyed the tranquil environment of his farm as he produced his *Epodes* (30 BC), second book of *Satires* (30 BC), first three books of *Odes/Carmina* (23 BC), the *Epistles* (20 BC), the *Carmen Saeculare* (17 BC), the fourth book of *Odes/Carmina* (13 BC) and the second book of *Epistles* (12 BC), including the so-called *Ars Poetica*, the last poetical work of his life.⁴⁸

Horace is described by Suetonius as short and fat (*brevis atque obesus*), a description which Horace uses of himself.⁴⁹ He never married. Suetonius suggests that he had a mirrored room for use when entertaining prostitutes. Horace certainly was not shy of telling us of his relationships with certain women, such as Phyllis in *Carm.* 4.11. He seems to have been heterosexual by inclination, although he is accused by his interlocutor Damasippus (*Sat.* 2.3) of 'a thousand passions for lads and lasses'.⁵⁰ Damasippus also accuses him of having a terrible temper (*horrenda rabies*).⁵¹

There is a lack of information about Horace's life from the time that he stopped publishing poetry (12 BC) until his death in 8 BC, only a few weeks after the death of his patron and friend Maecenas. It seems likely that he spent most of his time on his Sabine farm or at other residences away from Rome. Yet he probably died in Rome on 8 December 8 BC, and he was buried close to Maecenas.⁵² We do not know what caused his death. Suetonius tells us that he was unable to sign his will, in which he made Augustus his heir, because of the sudden violence of his illness (*urgente vi valetudinis*).⁵³ His obesity would make him the likely victim of a heart attack or a stroke. The illness did not prevent him from confirming his will by word of mouth.⁵⁴

Some of the poems illustrate the fact that Horace was content with the simple life, especially after he was presented with the Sabine farm. He contrasted his simple, relaxed, worry-free lifestyle with the constant pressures which Maecenas faced because of the role which he played in Rome for the Augustan regime. His very first published poem (*Satires* 1.1) asked Maecenas why so many people were dissatisfied with their own lot in life and envied the lives of others. Horace believed that one could rarely find a man who was

content with his lot and admitted that he had a happy life (117–19), while his poetry suggests that Horace was in fact just one such man. In both *Carmina* 2.18 and 3.16 Horace repeated the message that he was happy with the life which fate had given him. In *Satires* 2.6 he extolled the pleasures of his life on the farm and contrasted it with the constant distractions of life in Rome. Kytzler writes: ‘Practical philosophy and poetry, the two fundamental ideas in the life of Horace, in his personal mould, are nowhere as clearly accessible as in the two books of letters’.⁵⁵

Horace’s poetry as a source of information about the life of Maecenas

Horace gives the date, but not the year, of Maecenas’ birth as 13 April.⁵⁶ He regards him as the noblest Etruscan of all and as connected to Etruscan royalty.⁵⁷ He also addresses him as a famous member of the equestrian class.⁵⁸ Horace describes him as learned (*Epist.* 1.19.1) in both languages (*Carm.* 3.8.5), presumably Latin and Greek, although we cannot discount Etruscan as one of the two.

Horace gives an example of the demanding diplomatic journeys undertaken by Maecenas on behalf of Octavian in his description of the journey to Tarentum in 37 BC, which he joined.⁵⁹ He especially points out the exhausting nature of the journey and the dangers to health which it presented. He depicts Maecenas as a man of boundless energy who can devote himself to a ball game while others seek rest.⁶⁰

In two of his *Carmina* he is concerned for the well-being of Maecenas in Rome, where he is overwhelmed by the demands of the role he plays under the Augustan regime.⁶¹ He suggests that Maecenas should take a break from Rome and spend time relaxing on the Sabine farm. There is no evidence that Maecenas ever took him up on his offer. Horace obviously cares deeply about the health of his friend. In *Carmina* 2.17 it is clear that Maecenas has been writing to Horace with complaints about his health and feelings of impending death. Horace replies by pointing to the fact that fate has already spared each of them, Horace from a falling tree, Maecenas from an illness which almost killed him.⁶² The fact that the audience applauded Maecenas in the theatre when he recovered suggests that Maecenas was much admired in Rome.⁶³ Horace tries hard to cheer Maecenas up, but at the same time writes that, if Maecenas does die, he will not live long after that, as life will be meaningless without the man whom he regards as half of his soul.⁶⁴ This is a declaration of the extraordinary closeness of their relationship. This poem proved to be strangely prophetic. Both Horace and Maecenas fell ill in their last years. When Maecenas died in 8 BC, Horace followed him to the grave less than two months later. In spite of suggestions of Maecenas’ love of *otium* and dinner parties by some such as Seneca, Horace presents a picture of a man devoted to his work on behalf of the new emperor. Yet, when commenting on the way in which some people may see his relationship with Maecenas,

Horace makes it very clear that Maecenas avoids men with political ambition, thereby paying himself a compliment.⁶⁵

The nature of the relationship of Horace and Maecenas

There has been much discussion by scholars in recent years about the relationship of Horace and Maecenas.⁶⁶ Such discussion has centred on two main areas: first, the nature of the relationship and whether it was one of patron and client or was based on friendship; secondly, the extent to which Horace was given freedom to compose the poetry he wanted to write, and whether he was in any way constrained by his relationship with Maecenas. These scholars have reached very different conclusions.⁶⁷ McNeill, for example, argues that there are distinct phases in their relationship.⁶⁸ While acknowledging the various views which they hold, the conclusions of this chapter are based on a close reading of Horace's poetry. This chapter argues that their friendship develops from the first meeting into one of the closest recorded friendships of that period, and that, as even the closest friendships have their ups and downs, Horace is refreshingly honest in the way in which he refers to them. Many of these scholars discuss the relationship in terms of patron and client. Phebe Lowell Bowditch, however, persuasively argues that their relationship should be considered one of *amicitia* rather than *patrocinium*.⁶⁹ She seems to be correct that the relationship became one based on *amicitia*, but it also seems that initially it was based on *patrocinium*.

The relationship is a meeting of minds which began with their first acquaintance in 38 BC and lasted until their deaths within months of each other in 8 BC.⁷⁰ It is one of the most remarkable relationships in the Roman world. Horace tells us what his first meeting with Maecenas was like in 38 BC.⁷¹ Horace had not long before been granted a pardon by Octavian for backing the wrong side in the Civil Wars.⁷² When he had escaped from the battlefield of Philippi, he was faced with a choice, as no doubt were all those who survived from the losing side. He could either remain on the run or he could seek a pardon. He may, of course, have hoped that Philippi would bring an end to the Civil Wars. This was not to happen, but he chose to apply to Octavian for a pardon and, therefore, took the side of those who were to win the final phase of the Civil Wars and to bring about a change in regime. It is possible that he thought that Octavian and his close supporters, Agrippa and Maecenas, offered the best chance for peace and stability in Rome. Like Maecenas, he backed the winning side. Through Virgil and Varius he was introduced to one of the three men who were to bring about this change in regime. Fraenkel takes Suetonius to task for using '*insinuatus*' (insinuating) in his description of the way in which Horace became a friend of Maecenas. He argues: 'Whatever the ups and downs in the relations of Horace and Maecenas, there was never anything to which the term *insinuatus* could be applied. The same is true of the *amicitia* between Horace and Augustus'.⁷³ Levi, too, argues that Suetonius' 'sneer' through the use of

insinuatus does not reflect the nature of Horace's relationship with Maecenas and Augustus.⁷⁴

His nervousness, as a recently pardoned member of the opposition to the regime, in the face of Maecenas is very clear. He is in awe of the man. Although they were both equestrians, their positions in Roman society were very different. Maecenas, of noble Etruscan lineage, had great wealth and a position of considerable power and influence in the new regime: Horace was not wealthy, was very conscious of his humble family background, and had no power or influence. It is possible that Maecenas may well have been a few years older.⁷⁵ There may be a clue, however, in one later poem where Horace writes that he has often called Maecenas 'father'.⁷⁶ This might suggest a gap in ages. Yet, Maecenas clearly saw poetic promise in him and thought that he might be a supporter of the new regime. Their relationship at this early stage appears to be the uneven one of patron and client.⁷⁷ There is evidence of their relationship being of this nature when Horace describes how Maecenas would take him in his carriage so that he had someone with whom to exchange trivial conversation (*Satires* 2.6.40–46). The fascinating aspect of their relationship is how it changes and develops over the next thirty years. By the time of their deaths in 8 BC the relationship was very different from that of patron and client, as this part of the chapter explains. This development is supported by the autobiographical nature of Horace's poetry.

Horace clearly expresses the disparity of their positions when they met in 38 BC.⁷⁸ Maecenas is named directly in twenty-six of Horace's poems and directly alluded to by the words *potentem amicum* in one more (*Carm.* 2.18 in 23 BC).⁷⁹ Maecenas is the addressee of sixteen of these poems and on four of these occasions he is addressed at the beginning of a book, which would suggest that the book is being dedicated to him (*Sat.* 1.1 in 35 BC; *Epod.* 1 in 30 BC; *Carm.* 1.1 in 23 BC; *Epist.* 1.1. in 20 BC).⁸⁰ Making Maecenas the addressee is one way of acknowledging the value of the patronage of Maecenas. The fact that he is not addressed in the fourth book of *Carmina* in 13 BC and the second of *Epistles* in 12 BC supports the view that Horace transferred to the direct patronage of Augustus at some time after he published his first book of *Epistles* in 20 BC. Evidence which supports the idea of disparity can be found still in his second book of *Satires* published in 30 BC. In *Satires* 2.7 Horace's interlocutor claims that Horace would abandon his own dinner guests, if a late invitation to dinner came from Maecenas (32–7).⁸¹ This suggests that Horace is at Maecenas' beck and call, but it might also suggest simply that Horace realises that he will be much better fed at his friend's house. In *Satire* 2.8 he clearly is envious that he was not invited with Maecenas to dine with Nasidienus, especially as Maecenas is described as having taken two uninvited guests with him (16–22). There are disadvantages to the relationship, as can be seen in *Satires* 1.9, which relates the story of a pest who follows Horace in Rome in the hope that he will use his influence to secure an introduction for the fellow to Maecenas.⁸² Roman shows why Horace finally responds angrily to this pest:

Being a friend of Maecenas does not mean that he is in competition with others, fawning on his patron in order to rise higher in the world. He remains independent, self-contained/contented, securely established in his own space.⁸³

In *Satires* 2.6, which extols the pleasures of life on his Sabine farm, Horace explains how he is constantly interrupted by people expecting him to act as intermediary to Maecenas whenever he spends time at home on the Esquiline. This encourages him to enjoy the peace and quiet of his Sabine farm. Roman points out how the Sabine Hills relieved him from the annoying attention of others now that he was a successful author under the patronage of Maecenas, one of the closest members of the entourage of the new *princeps*. The disadvantage of the new status was the unwelcome attention it brought, often from strangers; the benefit was that thanks to his patron he could escape from it all.⁸⁴ Roman also suggests that Horace considered that Maecenas was able to keep their friendship separate from affairs of state.⁸⁵

We can gain a clear picture of the way in which Horace perceives the position, origin and character of Maecenas. In some poems Horace shows deference, as he pays respect to Maecenas' status. In *Satire* 1.5.27 Horace looks forward to the arrival of the excellent Maecenas (*Maecenas optimus*). Maecenas is addressed as a famous member of the equestrian class (*clare Maecenas eques*) in *Carmina* 1.20.5. Maecenas is the Etruscan offspring of kings in *Carmina* 3.29.1 (*Tyrrhena regum progenies*). Horace writes that Maecenas has often been called king and father by him (*saepe verecundum laudasti rexque paterque audisti coram nec verbo parcius absens* 37–8), and that he is the noblest Etruscan of all time in *Satire* 1.6.1–2 (*non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos/incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te.*). In *Carmina* 1.1.1–2 he greets Maecenas as the descendant of royalty, his protector and the source of the honour which he receives (*Maecenas atavis edite regibus, o et praesidium et dulce decus meum.*). In *Carmina* 2.17.3–4 Maecenas is a source of great honour to Horace and a pillar of support (*Maecenas, mearum/grande decus columenque rerum.*).

While Horace acknowledges the nobility of Maecenas' background, which he contrasts with the humility of his own (especially in *Satire* 1.6), he also explains the benefits which the relationship has brought to him. In *Carmina* 2.18.12, published in 23 BC, Maecenas is a powerful friend (*potentem amicum*). He accepts gladly the honour which his friendship with Maecenas has brought to him and basks in the benefits of their friendship. Yet, even when their relationship has developed beyond that of mere patron and client, he retains a deferential form of address. At the same time, there are hints of friendship from the very beginning. In *Satire* 1.3.69 Maecenas is his dear friend (*amicus dulcis*). Horace expresses his love for Maecenas in *Carmina* 2.20.7 (*dilecte Maecenas*). In *Carmina* 4.11.19 Horace calls Maecenas 'my Maecenas' (*Maecenas meus*), a term which emphasises the closeness of their relationship. Finally, the use of the term *convictor* ('one who lives with

a person on intimate terms') in *Satire* 1.6.47 implies a very intimate friendship between the two.⁸⁶ It can be seen, therefore, that behind the deference of address there is a developing intimacy of friendship. Roman stresses the value of the friendship to Horace, and how, without any real effort, his social standing increased through what Roman regards as 'Maecenas' distinctively unburdensome friendship', a friendship which 'underwrites and provides the conditions of possibility for Horatian autonomy'.⁸⁷

In *Satires* 1.6, while Horace expresses his thanks to Maecenas for not spurning a man of humble beginnings and humble means, he makes clear that he does not regret those humble beginnings and the comparatively simple life which he leads. Levi identifies a basic clue: 'Horace expresses his pleasure that the basis of their friendship is not family alliance but a certain shared moral philosophy, which is a principal theme not only of their friendship but of his book of *Satires*'.⁸⁸ The poem also shows how Horace's life is inextricably intertwined with that of Maecenas, even if to some extent Horace resents at times the intrusions which his known friendship with Maecenas have upon his life. In four poems Horace invites Maecenas to share wine with him.⁸⁹ The first (*Epode* 9) expresses the hope that they will be able to share wine to celebrate Caesar's (Octavian's) victory over Antony at Actium. The second (*Carmina* 1.20) is merely an invitation for Maecenas to share the wine, which Horace himself has bottled on his farm, a humble wine which cannot be compared to the fine wines to which Maecenas is accustomed. In the third (*Carmina* 3.8) and the fourth (*Carmina* 3.29) Horace begs Maecenas to lessen his workload in Rome and come to the Sabine farm to relax and share some wine.

Horace admits that he has faults in *Satires* 1.3 and asks Maecenas to forgive him for them, just as he is prepared to forgive Maecenas' faults, and to balance them against his good qualities. Yet it should be noted that Horace throughout these poems is in no way critical of his friend's lifestyle, dress or habits, except for chastising him for working too hard in Rome, and perhaps for making demands upon him to write poetry of a particular kind. He playfully chides Maecenas for giving him garlic to eat in *Epode* 3. In *Satires* 2.3 Horace is criticised by Damasippus for trying to match Maecenas by extending his farm buildings, although Damasippus states that Horace will never be his equal. Horace angrily dismisses him. This difficult poem on the concept of madness, together with the vices of greed and ambition, is given full discussion by Rudd, who writes that 'one has to admit that it is not among Horace's best'.⁹⁰ The poem perhaps suggests that Horace believes that it would be madness to think that he will ever be the equal of Maecenas. It is difficult to think that he ever thought that he could be his equal in terms of wealth and property. He was merely content to enjoy a relationship with Maecenas, in which he considered that he was treated as an equal.

It is difficult to agree with those scholars who see evidence in Horace's *Epistles*, published in 20 BC, of deterioration or even a breakdown in the relationship between the poet and his mentor.⁹¹ Two of the poems

addressed to Maecenas which have aroused much discussion among commentators are *Epistles* 1.1 and 1.7. An example of those who hold such views is Johnson who, while discussing the first *Epistle*, argues that 'his patron, his sponsor, his dearest friend had apparently been nagging him' to write more poetry, a task from which Horace had excused himself for a variety of reasons. When Maecenas moved to 'something close to outright demands', Horace explained that he had put poetry behind him 'in favour of a serious commitment to living the philosophic life'.⁹²

While Johnson considers this to be evidence of a deterioration in their relationship, it should be remembered, however, that Horace had not 'permanently jettisoned poetic production', since his last works were his fourth book of *Odes*, written in response to the request from his new chief patron, Augustus, and second book of *Epistles*. Horace was clearly wrestling with his ideas for a new direction for his poetry. He may well have been irritated by Maecenas' constant request to produce more of the same, but that does not have to mean that their relationship suffered as a result. Rather the strength of their friendship allowed Horace to express that irritation and eventually flatly to refuse the request. After all, in *Carmina* 4.11.19, published in 13 BC, the use of *meus Maecenas* argues for the continuing closeness of their relationship.

Horace begins *Epistle* 1.1, published in 20 BC, the first poem in a new form of poetry, with an acknowledgement that Maecenas was the addressee of his first published poem and that he will be the addressee in this his last work (1–3). It is very likely that Horace, at this stage, thought that the *Epistles* would be his last work, as the fourth book of *Odes* was written later in response to a request from Augustus himself. As is fitting for the first poem of a book, Horace justifies his decision to abandon the successful lyric poetry which had made him famous to concentrate on more serious matters, those more befitting his advancing years. It is clear, however, that Maecenas had been pestering him to write more lyric poetry. In his rejection of these requests, Horace does seem to be finding fault with his mentor over minor details, as he claims that Maecenas is quick to point out petty faults in Horace, such as a badly cut nail. It could be argued, however, that this poem is a plea for understanding for his need to write a new form of poetry. As he ages and faces the inevitability of death, Horace seems to be intent on searching for the virtues which should underlie a good life, virtues which he himself had ignored in his younger days. It is because of the closeness of their relationship that Horace feels the need to give reasons for his refusal, and it is because of the relationship that he feels free to do so under the bonds of *amicitia*. The poem is more an example of the honesty which can exist between friends than a suggestion that there is a breakdown in their relationship. Horace shows his frustration, but that is all.

In *Epistle* 1.7 Horace is again defending himself to Maecenas. This time he has stayed longer on his farm than he had said he would. The justification which he gives for doing so is sound. August was not a healthy month

to spend in Rome. He is right to claim that it is in the interests of his good health to be on his Sabine farm and to move down nearer to the sea, if the weather deteriorates. He promises to come back to Rome when the weather presents less of a threat to his health. He pleads for Maecenas' understanding. He seems to suggest that he regrets feeling under any obligation to Maecenas, since life on the Sabine farm or anywhere else away from Rome suits him best.⁹³ There is a suggestion that he should avoid being under obligation by giving back his gifts, because the simple life suits him. By this time Horace was undoubtedly in a very sound financial position and could probably afford to buy property elsewhere, if he gave the farm back to Maecenas. Lyne suggests that Horace had at least three and perhaps as many as five properties.⁹⁴ He also points out that poets like Virgil, Horace and Varius were rich, thanks particularly to occasional 'bonuses' from the emperor. We should remember, however, that it was through the initial patronage and support of Maecenas that this came about. It is hard to imagine Maecenas agreeing to the return of the farm. It is more likely that he replied with consoling words. This poem also points to the fact that even at this comparatively late stage in his life Horace is spending time in Rome, where he shares the company of Maecenas.

Although Horace hints at the difficulties which can arise from being under an obligation, the overall picture which emerges from his poetry is that he was eternally grateful for all that Maecenas did for him and will not forget it. Fraenkel concludes his discussion of *Epistle* 1.7 by arguing that the publication of this letter is 'to the credit not only of Horace but of Maecenas as well'. He argues that it was Maecenas' *magnanimitas* which made it possible for Horace to be forthright and that Horace never 'wavered in his profound attachment to him', in spite of 'the still fashionable talk of a cooling of their relationship in their later years'.⁹⁵ This chapter agrees with Fraenkel that such views are contradicted by the evidence in the surviving sources. Levi is of like mind when he concludes with respect to their relationship:

With Maecenas Horace remained on excellent terms. While his friend whizzed here and there on Caesar's business, Horace followed, when invited, beaming amiably. Maecenas was a highly complicated man, but Horace was quite content to observe and explore [*sic*] him, and to offer a friendship as genuine as if they had been on equal terms.⁹⁶

The strongest argument against the views of scholars who take these two poems as signs of deterioration in their relationship is based on the last poem which Horace wrote in which he mentions Maecenas. Although *Carmina* 4.11 is addressed to a girlfriend, Phyllis, whom Horace regards as the last woman he will love, the reason for the party to which she is invited is that it is a celebration in honour of Maecenas' birthday, a celebration for which no expense is being spared. There is no suggestion that Maecenas himself will be present, but it is significant that Horace throws a party to honour his friend

(*meus* [19], which shows the possessive nature of his feelings about the friendship), a celebration which is more important to him than his own birthday (17–18).⁹⁷

Poetic independence

The second feature of their relationship to be considered is the extent to which Horace considered that he enjoyed independence to compose as he wished. La Penna argues that Horace's entrance into Maecenas' circle of poets did not mean that he became a mouthpiece of Octavian.⁹⁸ There is no evidence that he was anything but independent until he came to depart from his established lyric style to write on more serious matters in the late 20s BC. Lyne makes a sensible and neat distinction between the approach of Horace to his poetry in the 30s and the 20s. In the *Satires* Horace shows himself to be 'politically uncompromised' by the patronage which he has received from Maecenas, whereas in the *Carmina* he was prepared to be 'political', that is to say to write 'publicly moral, educative poetry', because, after Actium, the new regime was certain and was firmly established. It was no longer necessary to hedge his bets, as the winner had been declared.⁹⁹ Horace was undoubtedly still keen to please his mentor Maecenas and to achieve a reputation as a successful poet in Rome, but this does not mean that he was deprived of his independence. In *Satires* 1.10 Horace hopes that Octavian, Maecenas and his fellow poets will praise his poetry (81–4) and in *Carmina* 1.1 he declares that, if Maecenas praises his lyric poetry, he will reach the stars (35–6). In *Carmina* 2.20 he hopes that the poetry which he has been able to write since Maecenas brought him into his circle will last beyond his death, even if only in the more remote parts of the Roman world.¹⁰⁰ In *Epistles* 1.19 Horace, in a poem addressed to the learned Maecenas, justifies his own learning as the first to publish Latin lyric poetry. Fraenkel points out that this poem is written so that Horace can express his frustration at the poor reception which *Carmina* 1–3 received. He writes: 'He [Horace] would not have done so had he not been sure that Maecenas was one of the few who did understand and appreciate his friend's daring achievement'.¹⁰¹ Maecenas had given him the opportunity to write poetry without having to worry about where his next meal would come from.

Yet Maecenas clearly at times made demands upon him. In *Epode* 14.5–6 Horace writes that Maecenas is killing him (*occidis*) by his repeated demands to finish some 'iambic' poetry, which the god (of love) forbids him to do. In *Epistle* 1 Horace uses the analogy of a gladiator, who tried to fight on after retirement, to refer to the demands of Maecenas, who wants him to revert to the old style of poetry from which he has retired to turn his mind to matters philosophical. In *Carmina* 2.12 Horace hints that he has been asked to write on military matters. Although we cannot be sure of the extent to which these demands were made or whether they are simply a poetic device used to emphasised the poet's field of expertise, we can see

examples of Horace's reluctance or refusal to meet those demands.¹⁰² In response to Maecenas' demands for him to finish some iambic poems, he excuses himself by saying that he is distracted by love (*Epod.* 14.15–16).¹⁰³ In *Carmina* 2.12 he states that he is reluctant to try to use his verse to describe the military successes of Augustus and suggests that Maecenas himself would be better suited to do this in prose (9–16), since he himself is better suited to love poetry.¹⁰⁴ Once Horace had made this refusal, there is no evidence that Maecenas exerted pressure on him to change his mind. It is clear from Horace's first *Epistle* that Maecenas wanted him to write more of the lyric poetry which had been successful and brought credit to his patron. Again it is clear that, when Horace explained the reasons for his refusal, Maecenas took the rebuttal in good spirit and ceased his demands. There is no evidence that Horace's refusal to follow the direction which Maecenas suggested or demanded caused any lasting damage to their friendship. Fraenkel, when discussing *Carmina* 3.25, reaches an important conclusion:

From what I know of Horace I refuse to consider the possibility that in this poem he is lying and not being serious. He implies that what he is setting out to do will, if he succeeds, be the crowning triumph of his life. I believe him. I must therefore part company with those scholars who say that the Roman Odes and kindred poems are to be regarded as products of a subtle propaganda, suggested to the poet and all but forced upon him by Maecenas or somebody else.¹⁰⁵

In summary, it can be seen that Horace's poetry tells us a good deal about Horace, about Maecenas and about the nature of their relationship. As White states, 'No-one else in Latin literary history was as lavishly and consistently advertised by any poet'.¹⁰⁶ There is one significant and interesting lacuna in our knowledge of their relationship, however, which raises many questions, the answers to most of which can only be speculative. We may wonder what their relationship was in the last years of their lives. Our main source, Horace, says no more after the publication of the fourth book of *Odes* in 13 BC, and Suetonius does not fill in the gaps. No other ancient source provides any evidence. It is also a question which does not seem to have aroused the interest of scholars. Now that Horace had stopped writing poetry, we may wonder what life he led in retirement, whether he spent all his time on his Sabine farm and other country properties or spent more time in Rome in the company of his patron and close friend Maecenas. We may also wonder what life Maecenas himself led. It is probably reasonable to assume that he stayed in Rome, living on the Esquiline with his difficult young wife Terentia. It is also possible that he continued to act on behalf of Augustus. In 23 BC, under the second constitutional settlement, Augustus had received greater power. At the same time, the death of Marcellus had enhanced the position of Agrippa as regent for Augustus' grandsons. It is

known that Augustus did not use Maecenas to act on his behalf when he was campaigning in 16 BC, but the elderly Statilius Taurus.¹⁰⁷ It is also thought that Sallustius Crispus had taken over Maecenas' 'security role'.¹⁰⁸ Although there may have been the office of *praefectus urbi*, Crispus never held it. Virgil had died in 19 BC, and both Horace and possibly Propertius had passed under the direct patronage of Augustus, who increasingly relied less on others to play such roles. Maecenas' important role as patron of a circle of poets had come to an end. For all these reasons, it is clear that Maecenas' role was diminished, but it does not mean that Augustus did not seek his advice or help any longer, especially after Agrippa had died in 12 BC, when he may have valued the advice of the other man who helped him to power. It is possible that Maecenas now had time to spend with Horace on his Sabine farm or that they spent more time together in Rome. This is a question to which there can be no definitive answer.

The relationship of Horace to Augustus and his regime

The fourth facet is the relationship with the emperor himself and the extent to which Horace, in his poetry, supported the Augustan regime. We cannot know whether Horace had become acquainted with Octavian during the time of his education in Rome, though it is possible, as the latter was equestrian and it is possible that Horace was too at this time. Horace's father clearly wanted to provide his son with an education fitting for an equestrian or a senator. It is assumed, however, that their first meeting was after Philippi when Horace came to Rome to beg for a pardon. We can also assume that Horace became better acquainted with him after he was accepted into Maecenas' circle of poets. The *Vita Horati* provides three other instances of interaction between them. At some time after Augustus returned from the East in 19 BC he invited Horace to be a personal secretary (*officium epistularum*), a position which Horace declined.¹⁰⁹ Augustus seems to have accepted this refusal without resentment, because not long afterwards he invited Horace to write the *Carmen Saeculare* to mark the beginning of the new age in 17 BC.¹¹⁰ Horace accepted the invitation. Finally, Horace published his fourth book of *Carmina* in response to a request from Augustus for poems to honour the military victories of Tiberius and Drusus.¹¹¹ In other words, when Augustus took over as Horace's patron and requested poetry of a specific nature, Horace acceded to those demands, whereas he had denied Maecenas' requests to write of Augustus' successes. Suetonius in *Vita Horati* gives a very positive picture of the relationship between Horace and Augustus, with the emperor even inviting Horace to treat his home as if it were his own. There seems to be great familiarity between them from the way in which, according to Suetonius, Augustus greets Horace.¹¹²

Fraenkel argues that the tenor of the two Actium epodes and the Cleopatra ode, which support the view that the future prosperity of Rome depends on an Octavianic victory, permeates Horace's later poetry too.¹¹³ He also argues

that it was the publication of the first three books of *Carmina* that brought about a more intimate relationship between Horace and Augustus, a relationship, which to that point in time had lacked intimacy, but showed great respect from Horace for the emperor.¹¹⁴ He concludes, however, that Horace found it more difficult to praise Augustus in his poetry the closer their relationship became.¹¹⁵

Armstrong also has reservations about the closeness of the relationship and Horace's willingness to praise Augustus. He argues that, although 'his late poems all treat Augustus as a great ruler', Horace does not surrender to praising the new regime with 'undeserved energy and without irony'. He considers that the *Epistle to Augustus* portrays the *princeps* as a 'busy public figure and a patron of poets, not in any way as an intimate friend'.¹¹⁶ Yet this chapter argues for an intimate friendship.

Horace, for all the closeness of his relationship with Maecenas and even Augustus, seems as reluctant as Virgil and Propertius to praise the achievements of Augustus in the Civil Wars. He does, however, especially in the *Carmina*, seem to be supporting Augustan ideology and to be praising the peace which has come with the end of the Civil Wars. Phebe Lowell Bowditch explains how much of the scholarship of the twentieth century saw ways in which 'the political poetry, and the Roman Odes (3.1–6) in particular, endorsed "Augustan" ideology'.¹¹⁷ Her judgment that the last two decades have seen commentators move away from 'stark terms of "pro" versus "anti" Augustan readings and views of the poems creating ideology rather than "reflecting" it to a view that Horace was a free agent' seems to be the correct one.¹¹⁸ The same can be said for her view that 'By recasting the history of the Civil Wars in religious terms the Roman Odes also serve to recreate Augustus and to legitimise a monarchic and divinely endorsed vision of his power'.¹¹⁹ Michèle Lowrie, in considering the relationship between Horace and Augustus, concludes that: 'Horace offers praise at the same time as he maintains a position of independence that renders his praise all the more valuable'.¹²⁰ Armstrong sensibly concludes 'If we know anything from factual history, however, it is that none of this affected Horace's and Maecenas' *amicitia*, or probably either of their friendships with Augustus'.¹²¹

Conclusion

We clearly can learn much more about Horace and his life from his poetry than we can about the reclusive Virgil and Propertius, whose main obsession is his love affair with Cynthia. Horace's poetry is also very important for the information which it provides about Maecenas and his life and the extent to which Horace was indebted to Maecenas.¹²² It also throws light upon the way in which the circle of poets functioned and the way in which patronage worked. Horace displays a refreshing frankness as he details aspects of their increasingly close relationship. We learn much about both of them as a result. Horace lifts the veil of mystery from the character of Maecenas.

Johnson provides a very good summary of Horace's debt to Maecenas, when he argues that 'Maecenas had furnished Horace with real freedom'. He considers that Maecenas did this in two ways, first by sponsoring him as a poet and secondly by presenting him with his Sabine farm where he could be free from the manifold distractions of Rome so that he could use his solitude for his writing. He points especially to *Carmina* 3.29 in which Horace invites Maecenas to share that solitude with him and to free himself from 'all the worries that his position at the court of Augustus burdened him with'.¹²³ This chapter considers that this accurately and succinctly reflects the influence that Maecenas had upon Horace's future life, happiness and poetic productivity by the way in which he treated him.

There can be no doubting the significant influence which Maecenas had upon Horace, as Johnson writes. Nisbet may be right when he says that Maecenas, by accepting Horace within his circle, removed a possible critic of the regime. Yet, Horace seems to be a pragmatist, and it can be argued that he would never have become a critic of the new regime. As an idealistic young man he joined the side of Brutus in the hope of preventing dictatorship. When, however, Octavian and Antony won at Philippi, he was prepared to admit his mistake, seek a pardon and involve himself on the winning side. He clearly seemed to believe that Octavian, Agrippa and Maecenas offered a better future for Rome than Mark Antony, as he was prepared to fight on their side, even, it is possible, by taking part in the war against Sextus Pompey and the battle at Actium, although there is no conclusive evidence to this effect. When peace replaced civil war, he, unlike some who still hankered after a return of the republic, recognised that what Octavian offered was preferable for the future well-being of Rome. He repaid his patron with the reflected glory from the success of his lyric poetry, a new genre for the Romans. He became a champion for Rome in his *Carmina*, especially the third book, the *Carmen Saeculare*, and his fourth book of *Carmina*.¹²⁴ He more than adequately repaid Maecenas and Augustus for their friendship. He was not, however, totally beholden to them. He asserted his independence in the *Satires* without damaging his close friendship with Maecenas. He was reluctant to sing the praises of Augustus' achievements in the Civil Wars, much in the same way as Propertius (see the following chapter), but he was prepared to acknowledge the achievements of the regime and the benefits which it brought to Rome. Fraenkel writes, with regard to *Satires* 2.1.12–15, 'The tone of this refusal could not be more respectful (*pater optime*), and the poet's regret sounds wholly sincere'.¹²⁵ He suggests that Horace here briefly praises Augustus both as military commander and statesman just as he will later on in *Epistles* 2.1

Shining through all, and surviving all, is the remarkable friendship between Horace and Maecenas. Their friendship grew over a period of thirty years. At the beginning they were from different ends of the social spectrum: Maecenas, a wealthy equestrian with an important role in Roman politics; Horace the son of a freedman from southern Italy who had recently been on the side of the opponents of the new regime. By the end

the inequality of their positions had gone and their hopes and aspirations were similar. There was mutual respect as well as devotion which together were strong enough to ride out the waves which, from time to time, seemed to rock the boat. With its wealth of documentation, it is a relationship about which we know so much more than any other of the time. Horace was a proud Roman who could not forget his humble roots and his home town. He made it clear that the city itself was not by choice his place of residence, as he preferred the peace and quiet of his beloved farm in the Sabine Hills, the generous gift of his close friend Maecenas, where his free spirit was able to compose the wonderful range of poems which survive to this day.

Notes

- 1 Borrelli and Targia (2003, 56).
- 2 Nisbet (2007, 7), Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486).
- 3 Fraenkel (1957, 1); Nisbet (2007, 7) almost repeats Fraenkel verbatim. La Penna (1963, 20) considers Fraenkel's work to be the most important on Horace, and that Fraenkel emphasises the deep agreement of Horace with the Augustan regime based on his reading of Horace's poems.
- 4 Fraenkel (1957, 142).
- 5 Syme (1986, 382–4) points out that Horace is a very useful source of information in a variety of areas, especially his 'subtle comportment towards the Princes', as historical sources are lacking at times. He argues that much can be learnt about both eminent people and friends who lacked rank. Much of this has, of course, little bearing on the focus of this book.
- 6 Rolfe (1914, 368–9) states that the manuscripts were found attached to manuscripts of Tacitus' *Dialogus* and *Agricola*, but that 'It has been generally recognised that this treatise on "Grammarians and Rhetoricians" formed part of a larger work by Suetonius entitled *De Viris Illustribus*, which treated of Romans who were eminent in the field of literature'. He continues (370) that:

A Life of Horace, which is found in some of the manuscripts, is not directly attributed to Suetonius, but is believed to be his because of the occurrence in it of certain statements which are credited to Suetonius by the scholiasts.
- 7 Syme (1986, 382).
- 8 Nisbet (2007, 7). Details can be found in Hor. *Carm.* 3.21.1, *Epist.* 1.20.27, Suetonius *Vita Hor.* (Extract 91). Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486).
- 9 Nisbet (2007, 7). Horace refers to himself as *Sabellus* in *Epist.* 1.16.49, although in *Sat.* 2.1.34 he refers to himself as Apulian or Lucanian, because Venusia is on the border between the two regions.
- 10 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.8. (Extract 8). Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486).
- 11 Williams (1995, 296–313); Rudd (2004, 1).
- 12 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.86–87. (Extract 8). Williams (1995, 296–313); West (1998, x–xi); Armstrong (2010, 12–15) writes that Horace's father made enough money out of his role as an auctioneer in Venusia and from any other jobs which he worked to be able to buy a house in Rome (perhaps on the Esquiline) and to bring his son to Rome to finish his education. Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486). Suetonius (*Vita Horati*) suggests that his father was a seller of salted provisions.
- 13 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6. (Extract 8).
- 14 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.71–78 (Extract 8).

- 15 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.78–80. (Extract 8).
- 16 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.81–88. (Extract 8).
- 17 Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.45.
- 18 Williams (1995, 296–313); West (1998, x–xi).
- 19 Armstrong (2010, 7–33) suggests that Horace's father had bought a house in Rome.
- 20 Fraenkel (1957, 9).
- 21 Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.46.
- 22 Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.46 and *Sat.* 1.6.48. (Extract 8). Fraenkel (1957, 11) suggests:

It was obviously an emergency measure when at Philippi one of Brutus' legions fought under the command of its tribunes, of whom Horace was one. At the height of the crisis it may have seemed all-important to put in charge young men whose loyalty could be trusted, even if they were lacking in military experience.

- 23 Nicolet (1966, 1974, 275).
- 24 To qualify as an equestrian a man had to have assets of a minimum of 100,000 sesterces (raised about 18 BC to 400,000 sesterces by Augustus), compared to 400,000 sesterces (raised about 18 BC to 1,000,000 by Augustus) to become a senator (Cass. Dio 54.26). See for example Carcopino (1941, 66); Richardson (2012, 118).
- 25 Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.10. Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486).
- 26 Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.9–12.
- 27 Fraenkel (1957, 12) suggests that there may be a reason why Horace admitted to such cowardice. First, he thinks that it is typical of 'his habitual candour and ironical self-deprecation'. Secondly, Horace does this so that he does not seem to be belittling the friend addressed in the poem, who also fled from the battle. It is possible that Horace is copying his model Alcaeus when he writes that he threw away his shield, as Alcaeus (fr.193) writes of doing the same during a battle with the Athenians at Sigeum. Harrison (2014) suggests that 'the choice of such a fantastic and poetic treatment also avoids the brutal details of the Philippi campaign in which thousands perished on both sides'. It should, however, be pointed out that a shield would be a hindrance to a quick escape in much the way in which some Australian soldiers abandoned their rifles to make the dash back across no-man's land at Fromelles in 1916, as described by Peter Fitzsimons (2015, 448).
- 28 Suet. *Vita Hor.*; Pseudo-Acron *Introduction to commentary on Horace* (Extract 110).
- 29 Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.50–51.
- 30 Armstrong (2010, 7–33). See also Fraenkel (1957, 13). Syndikus in *OCD* (2012, 704).
- 31 Armstrong (2010, 18).
- 32 Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.49–52.
- 33 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.52–55. (Extract 8). Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 486 suggests 37 BC).
- 34 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6. 56–64. (Extract 8). Anderson (2010, 36) presents a different view, however, as he writes 'By 40 BCE, Horace, through his friend Vergil, had been introduced to Octavian's favourite negotiator, Maecenas, and the two poets had been invited on a desultory trip from Rome to Brundisium, where Maecenas would try to patch things up with Antony and his negotiators'. Anderson's view is contrary to that of most commentators who assign the journey described by Horace in *Satires* 1.5 to the events of 37 BC (for example Du Quesnay (2002).
- 35 Roman (2014, 104).
- 36 Günther (2013, 35).

- 37 Harrison (2014, 30 n.55). See above p. 46 and 92 n.114.
- 38 See also Pseudo-Acron *ad Epod.* 1. (Extract 116)
- 39 See for example Fraenkel (1957, 71–5); La Penna (1963, 52–4); Schoonhoven (1980, 62–3); Woodman (1983, 238). The contrary view is argued by, among others, Du Quesnay (2002); Harrison (2014, 30) considers that most scholars now place both Maecenas and Horace at Actium.
- 40 See for example Bittarello (2009).
- 41 André (1967).
- 42 Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 487).
- 43 Frischer (2010, 75–90) thinks that the remains which are considered to be this farm and can be visited today in fact belong to the first century AD and that Horace's farm was a simpler version and has yet to be excavated fully. Kytzler in *NP* (2005, Vol. 6, 487) suggests that this gift was made in 32 BC. See Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.18 (Extract 125) for Horace's gratitude for the gift.
- 44 Anderson (2010, 39).
- 45 Fraenkel (1957, 15).
- 46 Hor. *Sat.* 2.6. (Extract 16).
- 47 Anderson (2010, 42).
- 48 We cannot be sure of some of the dates. Kytzler in *NP* (2005, Vol. 6, 488–90) suggests the 30s for the *Epodes*, 35–30 for *Satires* 2, and 15 for *Carmina* 4. Syndikus in *OCD* (2012, 705) suggests 19 for *Epistles* 1 and before 17 for *Epistles* 2.
- 49 Suet. *Vita Hor.*; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.308–309, where he has Damasippus accuse him of being only two feet tall (*ab imo ad summum totus moduli bipedalis*); Hor. *Epist.* 1.20.24, where he describes himself as being of short stature (*corporis exigui*); Hor. *Epist.* 1.4.15, where he describes himself as fat (*pinguis*). Kytzler in *NP* (2005, Vol.6, 487) describes him as 'small, portly, prematurely gray as a 44 year-old', based on Hor. *Epist.* 1.20.
- 50 Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.325. *mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores*.
- 51 Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.323. Kytzler in *NP* (2005, Vol. 6, 487) translates this as subject to 'outbursts of anger'.
- 52 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 53 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 54 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 55 Kytzler in *NP* (2005, 6, 491).
- 56 Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.14–16. (Extract 31).
- 57 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6; *Carm.* 1.1; *Carm.* 3.29.
- 58 Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.5. (Extract 20).
- 59 Hor. *Sat.* 5. Griffin (2005, 312) mistakenly places the journey in 40 BC, before Horace had been introduced to Maecenas.
- 60 Hor. *Sat.* 5.48–49.
- 61 Hor. *Carm.* 3.8. and 3.29; Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 3.8 (Extract 127).
- 62 Hor. *Carm.* 2.17 (Extract 22); Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.17 (Extract 124).
- 63 Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.17 (Extract 124), *ad Carm.* 1.20 (Extract 122).
- 64 Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.17 (Extract 124).
- 65 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.51–52. (Extract 8).
- 66 From, for example, Fraenkel (1957, 214–33) to Le Doze (2014), especially 180–2 and 229–43.
- 67 Apart from those specifically discussed, see the following: Lyne (1995, 139–57); Oliensis (1998, *passim*, especially 34–6, 48–9, 155–8); Kiernan (1999, 36–8, 107–8), McNeill (2001, 97–8, 127–8); White (2007, 195–206); Günther (2013, 1–62); Roman (2014, *passim*).
- 68 McNeill (2001, 10–34).
- 69 Bowditch (2010, 55).

- 70 La Penna (1963, 30) considers that the introduction took place in the first month of 38 BC.
- 71 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.52–64.
- 72 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 73 Fraenkel (1957, 15–16).
- 74 Levi (1997, 62–3).
- 75 See above, chap. 1. Maecenas is generally thought to have lived from 70–78 BC and Horace from 65–68 BC.
- 76 Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.37. See La Penna (1949); McGann (1969); Kilpatrick (1986); Armstrong (1989).
- 77 This view is supported, for example, by Osgood (2006, 246). The patron/client relationship was a key feature of Roman society. In a highly stratified society only the emperor was not bound to pay respect to someone higher up the social ladder. Those without jobs or in need attached themselves, if possible, to an important and wealthy member of society. That person need not necessarily be of a higher class. A client might also attach himself to a powerful patron in the hope of social or political advancement. The patron imposed on himself a duty to welcome clients to his house, to help them as much as possible with gifts of food or money. In return the client was expected to visit his patron early in the morning and to wait patiently for any task which he might be required to perform for the patron. Clients might be expected to accompany their patron when he ventured forth to the Forum and its surrounding public buildings. The larger the clientele, the greater the prestige of the patron. While initially there may seem to have been features of a traditional patron/client relationship in the relationship of Horace to Maecenas, their relationship really belonged under the umbrella of literary patronage. This was discussed in Chapter 1, pp. 65–72.
- 78 Hor. *Sat.* 1.6. (Extract 8).
- 79 Hor. *Sat.* 1.1; *Sat.* 1.3; *Sat.* 1.5; *Sat.* 1.6; *Sat.* 1.9; *Sat.* 1.10; *Epod.* 1; *Epod.* 3; *Epod.* 9; *Epod.* 14; *Sat.* 2.3; *Sat.* 2.6; *Sat.* 2.7; *Sat.* 2.8; *Carm.* 1.1; *Carm.* 1.20; *Carm.* 2.12; *Carm.* 2.17; *Carm.* 2.20; *Carm.* 3.8; *Carm.* 3.16; *Carm.* 3.29; *Epist.* 1.1; *Epist.* 1.7; *Epist.* 1.19; *Carm.* 4.11.
- 80 Hor. *Sat.* 1.1; *Sat.* 1.3; *Sat.* 1.6; *Epod.* 1; *Epod.* 9; *Epod.* 14; *Carm.* 1.1; *Carm.* 1.20; *Carm.* 2.12; *Carm.* 2.17; *Carm.* 2.20; *Carm.* 3.8; *Carm.* 3.29; *Epist.* 1.1; *Epist.* 1.7; *Epist.* 1.19.
- 81 See also the comment of Pseudo-Acron *ad Sat.* 2.7 (Extract 119).
- 82 Pseudo-Acron *ad Sat.* 1.9 (Extract 115).
- 83 Roman (2014, 109).
- 84 Roman (2014, 112).
- 85 Roman (2014, 95).
- 86 OLD 441.
- 87 Roman (2014, 101–2).
- 88 Levi (1997, 39).
- 89 Hor. *Epod.* 9; *Carm.* 1.20; *Carm.* 3.8; *Carm.* 3.29 (Extracts 13, 20, 25, 27).
- 90 Rudd (1981, 173–88).
- 91 Fraenkel (1957, 17) states that ‘The full worth of Maecenas appears in the clause of his will, which admits of no comments’.
- 92 Johnson (2010, 325).
- 93 Griffin (2005, 314), on the other hand, claims that: ‘Horace liked to be in Rome, he enjoyed a party, he relished being seen in Maecenas’ company’, citing Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.47 and 2.6.29ff as evidence (Extracts 8, 16).
- 94 Lyne (1995, 11).
- 95 Fraenkel (1957, 339).
- 96 Levi (1997, 63).

- 97 La Penna (1963, 115–16) discusses this point. Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 4.11 (Extract 130).
- 98 La Penna (1963, 38).
- 99 Lyne (1995, 12–30).
- 100 Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 2.20 (Extract 126).
- 101 Fraenkel (1957, 339).
- 102 We should bear in mind the comment of Cairns in his book on Propertius (2006, 265). He argues that the conventional *recusatio*, which was used by poets to show their independence by refusing to write what their patrons had not in fact asked them to write, gives rise to Stahl's (1985, 164) claim of 'implicit ridicule'. He writes 'We cannot seriously imagine, as we might be encouraged to do by deceptive poetic *recusationes*, that Maecenas lined up Horace, Propertius, and the rest, and demanded an epic from each of them'.
- 103 It should be remembered that the *Epodes* are also referred to as the *iambi*.
- 104 Fraenkel (1957, 221) argues that 'it is extremely doubtful whether Maecenas ever planned such a work, and all but certain that, if he did plan it, nothing came of it'. See also La Penna (1963, 126–8).
- 105 Fraenkel (1957, 260).
- 106 White (2007, 197).
- 107 Tac. *Ann.* 6.11 (Extract 86).
- 108 Cairns (2006, 279 n.141).
- 109 Suet. *Vita Hor.* (Extract 91).
- 110 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 111 Suet. *Vita Hor.*
- 112 Fraenkel (1957, 352–3) points to *Epistle* 1.13 as evidence of the respect which Horace had for Augustus, since he did not want to burden the emperor with his recently published *Carmina* 1–3 at such a busy time in his life, when he was also recovering from serious illness, unless the emperor himself requested to see them.
- 113 Fraenkel (1957, 354).
- 114 Fraenkel (1957, 355).
- 115 Fraenkel (1957, 356). He also writes (356) that 'Horace's latest epistle, ii.1, *Cum tot sustineas*, is a monument to Augustus such as no one but Horace would have been able to erect'.
- 116 Armstrong (2010, 28); Levi (1997, 63) had made the same point when he wrote that: 'For whatever reason, and however amicably they were to exchange letters, he never chose to come so close to Augustus'. Earlier, however, La Penna (1963, 23) argued the contrary by asserting that Fraenkel was right to assert the sincerity of the devotion of Horace to Augustus.
- 117 Bowditch (2010, 61).
- 118 Bowditch (2010, 62).
- 119 Bowditch (2010, 63).
- 120 Lowrie (2007, 89).
- 121 Armstrong (2010, 28).
- 122 See also Pseudo-Acron *ad Carm.* 1.1 (Extract 121), *ad Carm.* 3.16 (Extract 128).
- 123 Johnson (2010, 326).
- 124 Griffin (2005, 317) considers that:

Horace buckled down and wrote the Roman Odes (*Odes* 3.1–6), in which the political and religious side of Alcaeus was married with something of the grand manner of Pindar, to create a lyric capable of doing justice to the moral worth of Italy, the military glory of Rome, and the superhuman merits and historic achievement of the Princesps.

- 125 Fraenkel (1957, 149).

4 Sextus Propertius

The third poet in Maecenas' circle whose work still exists is Propertius. He was the youngest of the three poets and the last to join Maecenas' group. There are three major questions which arise from his work. The first is what can be learnt from the last two elegies of the *Monobiblos* about Propertius' *patria*, and consequently the extent to which he can be considered Etruscan. The second is when and why he came under the patronage of Maecenas, and what effect, if any, that had upon his poetry. The third is when and why he came under the direct patronage of Augustus, and what can be learnt from his poetry about his attitude to the regime. The chapter has to address the widely disparate views expressed by scholars on issues such as Propertius' attitude to the Augustan regime. The chapter considers what can be learnt from the elegies themselves, and the way in which scholars have responded to them. It should be pointed out that the work of Propertius has caused major debates on issues to do with the transmission of texts, the number of elegies, the placing of lines within some elegies and the number of books. Such issues are not relevant, however, to the questions raised in this book.

A problem is the lack of scholarship on Propertius compared to both Virgil and Horace. Combined commentaries are few. The first was Butler and Barber in 1933. Richardson followed in 1977. Others who have covered all four books of his elegies, such as Camps (1961–67) and Fedeli (1965–2005), have issued their work book by book over a number of years. Others, such as Hutchinson (2006) and Heyworth and Morwood (2011), have produced commentaries on individual books. Major monographs are limited to those of Boucher (1965), Margaret Hubbard (1974), Stahl (1985), Newman (1997), Cairns (2006) and Syndikus (2010). Goold (1990) produced a Loeb translation of the elegies. There have been recent translations by Slavitt (2002) and Katz (2004).¹ Much of what has been written has little, if any, relevance to the focus of this book, which is based on the relationship between Propertius and Maecenas and how that relationship may have influenced his engagement with the Augustan regime. This chapter focuses on those elegies which have a direct bearing on the three issues identified as relevant to this book.

Although Propertius wrote over ninety elegies, it is necessary to consider only a comparatively small number of these, since most of the elegies in the

Monobiblos and Books 2 and 3 are concerned with his love affair with Cynthia, the elegies of love for which he is famous. Although Book 4 represents a significant change of direction in his poetry, here, too, only some elegies are relevant to this book. Important to this book, and a consideration of Propertius as part of an Etruscan presence in Rome in the Augustan Age, are the last two elegies of the *Monobiblos* (1.21 and 22) with their reference to Propertius' origins and homeland. For the second question about the influence on his poetry of coming under the patronage of Maecenas we need to consider 2.1, 3.4 and 3.9. For the third question about the change that arose from the direct patronage of Augustus we need to consider 2.10, 3.11, 4.1, 4.1B and 4.6. Finally, for other information which can be gleaned about an Etruscan presence in his poetry apart from the last two elegies of the *Monobiblos*, we need to consider 2.13, 3.9, 3.17, 4.2, 4.9 and 4.10.²

Scholars, such as Butler, initially viewed Propertius' poetry as complimentary of the Augustan regime.³ A dramatic reversal occurred in the 1960s and 1970s in response to the Vietnam War and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, as Woodman and West argue in the epilogue to their set of edited papers.⁴ Of relevance to this chapter is Cairns' paper (1984) on 4.6, which is discussed later. Suffice to say at this point that Cairns argued that the negative view of Propertius had been based on a misunderstanding of 4.6. In the year after the publication of Cairns' paper Stahl, in his substantial book, revived and expanded the negative case, arguing that there is a pervading, but often subtle and subversive, criticism of the Augustan regime in many of Propertius' elegies. There has, indeed, been much more interest in Propertius over the past forty years, most of which has been in the form of learned articles in journals, many of which put forward the negative view. The most recent substantial book on Propertius is that of Cairns (2006). In his preface, he states: 'Among monographs on Propertius from the 1960s on three stand out for the depth and range of their coverage: Boucher (1965); Stahl (1985) and Newman (1997)'. Although he does not refer to them in this regard, the smaller works of Hubbard (1974) and Sullivan (1976) also seem to have made a major contribution to the discussion of Propertius' elegies. The task of this chapter is to evaluate the conflicting views of Propertius' poetry and to try to reach a conclusion as to which is the better evaluation of his work and to decide whether he is a supporter of, or a critic of, the Augustan regime.

A summary of his life

Sextus Propertius was probably born between 58 and 55 BC in Asisium (modern Assisi), an Umbrian town on the very borders of Etruria about twenty kilometres from the important Etruscan town Perugia (modern Perugia).⁵ He removed the golden *bulla* and donned the *toga virilis* in the presence of his mother, because his father had died (4.1.127–32).⁶ There is very little direct evidence for the age at which this usually happened, but it

is assumed that it was at about the age of fourteen to seventeen.⁷ We do know that Octavian donned the *toga virilis* at the age of fifteen.⁸ If Propertius' coming of age was at about the age of sixteen and this occurred soon after the family lost land, which was given to Octavian's soldiers after the Perusine War, this would suggest that he was sixteen in or about 40 BC. This would place the year of his birth in 56 BC, within the range suggested by Cairns and very close to the year suggested by Hodge and Buttimore. It has been suggested that Propertius' father died in the Perusine War and that he is the wounded soldier in 1.21.⁹ It could be that this is the case, but, if Propertius' father had died from wounds incurred during the Perusine War, one would have expected him to have made something of this in his poetry. But then again, he may be following the lead of Horace, who wrote that his family land was lost to similar confiscations, but does not tell us that his whole family seems to have perished in the period after Philippi as a result of the land confiscations.¹⁰ It is Horace's silence about his father, and his family, after his description of his father's role in his education in Rome in Satires 1.6 that leads scholars to assume that his family died at that time.

Propertius' family was important locally, belonged to the equestrian class and clearly had enough money to support him as he began to study for a legal and political career in Rome. He was initially under the patronage of Volcarius Tullus, a member of a consular family from the Etruscan city of Perugia,¹¹ and Cornelius Gallus.¹² This whole area had strong links with Marius and Julius Caesar. After the death of Julius Caesar, there may understandably have been uncertainty among the local people as to whether they should support Mark Antony or Octavian. Cairns considers that it is highly likely that the Volcarii may have sided with L. Antonius and Antony's wife Fulvia in the Perusine War, a bitter siege involving Octavian.¹³ It seems, however, to be unlikely that this was the case. If Octavian sacrificed senators, knights and local officials at an altar to Julius Caesar, they would surely have been among this number. When Octavian finally took the city, Suetonius writes that he exacted a terrible revenge, a view supported by many scholars, although Appian's description of the killing of only the town council persuaded others to believe that this is an exaggeration.¹⁴ The Volcarii seem to have survived and to have been prominent supporters of Octavian in the 30s and 20s. Propertius' *Monobiblos* was composed under their patronage and that of Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman elegist. In either 27 or 26 BC Propertius was brought into the circle of poets under the patronage of Maecenas and lived near to him on the Esquiline Hill. The second and third books of elegies were composed under his patronage, but the fourth was written at a time when Propertius had come under the direct patronage of Augustus. He probably died about 15 BC.¹⁵ Hubbard, however, makes the important point that:

There is no reason to accept the implicit assumption of other editors that a poet goes on writing till he drops, and that as the latest events mentioned by Propertius belong to 16 BC he must have died soon after,

leaving scraps of poems to be put together by a friend.¹⁶ Yet in 16 BC the poet was probably only in his mid-thirties or a little younger; he seems to have left descendants, unlike Horace he need not feel obliged to write, and much goes to show that he did not share Ovid's Ciceronian inability to hold his tongue.¹⁷

If he was indeed born in the middle of the 50s, he would have been about forty when his last poems appeared. It is worth noting that Horace almost certainly wrote nothing in the last five or six years of his life. We cannot, therefore, say with any certainty when Propertius died. We can only state when he finished producing poetry, and this was around 15 BC.¹⁸

This chapter sets out to establish the extent to which there is evidence of the influence of his Etruscan heritage in his poetry and whether he displays a particular attitude to Etruria and the Etruscans. Merely to mention Etruria or the Etruscans does not mean that there is an Etruscan influence. This chapter, however, argues that some of Propertius' poetry is influenced by the fact that he is an Umbrian/Etruscan. Cairns wrote that 'his (Propertius) work as a whole shows him more committed to Etruria than any other Augustan poet'.¹⁹ He states that this may be because he is partially of Etruscan descent, although an Umbrian, but believes that his association with Maecenas is most responsible for it. It can be argued that, although Propertius claims to be Umbrian by birth and from the town of Asisium, the proximity of Asisium to Perusia, an important Etruscan town, and his relationship to Etruscan families does not make it unreasonable to consider him Umbrian/Etruscan.²⁰ Umbrians had fought with the Etruscans against the Romans at the battle of Sentinum in 295 BC and seem to have been closely linked to them.²¹

The last two elegies of the *Monobiblos*

Crucial to an understanding of Propertius' work are the last two short elegies at the end of the *Monobiblos*, 1.21 and 1.22. These two elegies have raised several questions and have provoked much discussion among scholars. First, one has to ask why these two elegies were included in a book of elegiac poems, which are, for the most part, devoted to Propertius' relationship with Cynthia. Nethercut argued that these two elegies amounted to Propertius' personal seal (*sphragis*) at the end of the first book of his elegies.²² This position has been accepted by later scholars.²³ Although there is no argument about this position, the second question, which concerns the message which Propertius wishes to convey in these two poems, has encouraged very different views. Scholars have argued whether the two poems are simply a statement confirming his background, or political in nature, or both of these. Nethercut argued that the two elegies belong closely together, but that, in spite of the harmonies, they are basically different.²⁴ He considers 1.21 to be 'urgent, immediate, filled with action', whereas 1.22 is 'quiet, reflective, and conveys the sum of experience of

a man and a region'. He argues that the elegies, which imply the effect of Octavian (Augustus) upon Propertius' life as a young man, are different in tone towards the emperor from that of most Augustan writers, such as Horace and Virgil. He argues that the elegies must be political, since we see Propertius 'making his negative feelings toward Octavian stand out, in the most marked divergence from the manner adopted by Vergil and Horace at this same period, at the culmination of his artistic work thus far'. He concludes by stating:

As an elegist, Propertius might have contented himself with refusing mention of all things political and have insulated his published thoughts from civic involvement as Tibullus did. To the extent that Propertius alters his orientation and emphasizes his emotional ties with a specific district and civic body, we may argue that, in a deep sense – one of which Maecenas was aware – 1.22 is political poetry.²⁵

Davis supports Nethercut and believes that 1.21 is the more difficult of the two.²⁶ He considers it to be a Propertian variation on a common epitaph formula, where the dead person asks for help and then thanks the helper, although there are important differences between the poem and an epitaph.²⁷ He suggests that the sister (*soror* line 6) is either Gallus' wife or his wife-to-be. He also suggests that the *propinquus* in 1.22 is probably Gallus. This Gallus is certainly not Cornelius Gallus, the first Roman elegist, who was part patron of Propertius at the time of the publication of the *Monobilos*, because he did not die until 26 BC. Stahl suggests that Gallus, who is clearly a relative, died during the fighting around Perusia, even though he had escaped through the encircling troops of Octavian.²⁸ This view seems to be mistaken, since Frothingham had already made a very sound case for the events to which this elegy refers.²⁹ He argued that there was no way in which Gallus could have escaped from the siege of Perusia.³⁰ This conclusion means that Propertius invented the escape of Gallus through the lines of the besieging army (1.21.7–8). It is possible that he distorted the story in this way since he could not bring himself to give the true details, because these would be too dreadful for the 'sister' to know. It could also be argued that he did this because it avoided directly pointing a finger at Octavian for the sacrifice which took place. Frothingham argued that Gallus was one of three hundred senators, knights and local officials who were ritually slaughtered at an altar dedicated to Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, the anniversary of his death.³¹ He suggested that the wounded soldier was one of those pardoned by Octavian and that the soldier was watching the sacrifice. Gallus appealed to the soldier, who must be well known to him or even related, not to disclose the gruesome nature of his death to his parents and his sister, and wanted his sister to know that it would be impossible for her to identify his bones among the mass of bones of those sacrificed and cremated (he reads *nec* rather than *et* at the start of line 9). This is an even more macabre picture than that proposed by Stahl. There is no way in which we can be sure whether Propertius has invented the

details of Gallus' escape to hide the truth, but the evidence of Appian (*B.C.* 5.48) and the case made by Frothingham seem to suggest that he has. Roman argues:

Whatever solution one prefers, it is undeniable that Propertius' tone and frame of reference in 1.21–2 represents a marked shift from the rest of the book. The speaker is no longer (simply) Cynthia's obsessed lover, but an Umbrian poet, who has lost a relative in civil violence.³²

Agnes Lake argues, however, that there had been too much concentration on the documentary rather than the literary quality of 1.22.³³ She takes Butler and Barber to task for seeing the elegy as vague, since she believes that Propertius is often obscure, but never vague.³⁴ She is convinced that he would not end the *Monobiblos* with a poem of little importance, since Propertius had a sense of the dramatic. She considers the elegy as a moving and coherent whole, even if Propertius is obscure in his answer about his home. She identifies the clever use of contrasts within 1.22, especially *Italia* and *Roma*. What happened in the Civil Wars was Rome's quarrel, but it was Italy which suffered the consequences. In conclusion, she writes 'A small boy already gifted with an intense visual imagination might well be deeply influenced by his own brooding over the horrors of a battlefield which hid the body of someone he had loved'.³⁵ Sullivan writes

'Elegies 21 and 22 are untypical [*sic*] of the rest of Propertius' work, but here they identify the poet and give the reader information about his origins and some inkling of his political connections. The first is a lament for a relative, also named Gallus, who was killed during the Civil War. He adumbrates Propertius' own anti-war attitudes and the short piece is based upon a common type of funerary epigram, popular in both classical and Alexandrian times. It is a dramatic address to a passer-by to take the news of his death home. The last poem of the book gives Propertius' identity'.³⁶

Propertius mourns the loss of relatives and fellow Etruscans and Umbrians who fell during the siege of Perusia during the madness of the Civil Wars following the death of Julius Caesar. These scholars support the view, expressed in this chapter, that the events experienced by the young Propertius in Etruria and Umbria profoundly affected the way in which he wrote some of his poetry, notably the last two elegies of the *Monobiblos*.

These and other scholarly articles point to the fact that there is nothing vague and ordinary about these last two elegies of the *Monobiblos*. The elegies also present the fertile ground on which Stahl bases his dense and scholarly work.³⁷ Stahl's very thorough dissection of a variety of elegies develops a persuasive argument that Propertius is attacking the Augustan regime in a subtle rather than overt way.³⁸ Stahl seems to see *double-entendres* in most of the selected elegies and is very fond of using exclamation marks to suggest that the reader will not have considered the claims which he makes. Everything in the elegies, in his opinion, is heavily

nuanced and nothing can be taken at face value. The hidden message is the secret to understanding Propertius' poetry.

Stahl, in a thorough discussion of 1.21 and 1.22, makes a persuasive case for the effect that the Perusine War had upon Propertius.³⁹ He argues that Volcarius Tullus' request that Propertius should write about his family history opened some raw wounds. Tullus and his family had sided with Octavian and kept their property, while Propertius' family had lost its property (even if only temporarily) to veteran settlements.⁴⁰ Propertius was at an impressionable age at the time of the siege of Perusia. It is possible that his father, who died about this time, was killed in the fighting. If Propertius, at an impressionable stage of his life, became aware of the events at Perusia, they would overshadow all other considerations, as he recalls his birthplace Asisium and his early life. His Umbrian/Etruscan background would be very influential upon him. This may involve a psychological assessment of Propertius' state of mind when writing these elegies, but the conclusion reached in this chapter is not really different from those of Stahl and Cairns, who also imply a psychological state in Propertius to support their respective arguments.⁴¹

Parker discusses the significance of the last line of 1.22 (*me genuit terris fertilis uberibus* – [Umbria] fertile with rich fields gave birth to me). Although he considers that Stahl is correct in stating that Propertius dwells on this feature, he does not agree that his explanation is 'sufficient, or even a likely one'.⁴² He states that Stahl's response is typical of commentators who use 'information which the original readers could not have had, in order to explain difficulties'. 'Interpretation of a poem cannot depend on information which comes after it. Not only has the reader not yet read Book 4, Propertius has not yet written Book 4'. Parker writes that this is a poem written for as wide an audience as possible, not just a circle of intimate friends. It is for this reason that the *Monobiblos* has an introduction and a *sphragis*. Parker identifies the inspiration for the last line of 1.22 as being not elsewhere in Propertius, but in Virgil's *Georgics*.⁴³ He claims that:

to Propertius the very fertility of his native land is an affront ... He concludes with an image not just of the general horror and a specific man who caused it. The fields of his childhood are rich with the blood of his family.⁴⁴

1.22 clearly condemns the folly of the civil war and mourns the loss of fellow countrymen at Perusia, but it is difficult to be convinced that it is an attack on the regime of Augustus. To believe this would be to ignore the timing of publication of the *Monobiblos* and the time at which Propertius entered the circle of Maecenas. It is agreed that the *Monobiblos* was published about 29 BC, when Propertius was probably in his late twenties.⁴⁵ At this time he had probably been living in Rome for about ten years and had been conducting a torrid affair with the promiscuous Cynthia (Hostia was her real name according to Apuleius).⁴⁶ It is thought that he became part

of Maecenas' circle in about 27 BC.⁴⁷ It seems very unlikely that Maecenas would invite him to be part of that circle, if what he had so recently published was offensive to Augustus, because Maecenas would not want to be seen to be supporting a critic of the newly established regime of his close friend. The fact that Maecenas did bring him into the circle of poets at this point strongly suggests either that the elegy was not seen to be overtly critical of Octavian/Augustus or that Octavian/Augustus could understand the reason for the poet's bitterness and forgive him for it. The fact that the elegy certainly revives memories of the events at Perugia and Octavian's involvement in those events cannot be denied, but the tone of the elegy is one of sadness at the loss of life, especially of his own relatives, rather than an overt condemnation of Octavian/Augustus.

Hubbard writes:

Of the epigrams one is dramatic, put into the mouth of yet another Gallus dying near Perugia, murdered by unknown hands after escaping through the army of Octavian [*Gallum per medios ereptum Caesaris enses/effugere ignotas non potuisse manus* lines 7–8], while the second tells us that this Gallus was the poet's kinsman and that part of Umbria nearest to the ruined city was his *patria*. From a poet writing after Actium, the declaration is unexpected and indeed startling, and it brings the book to a troubling close.⁴⁸

The elegy at the end of a book of love elegies does bring the book to a 'troubling close' and may be 'unexpected', but does not seem to be 'startling' as the blame for the death of Gallus is laid at the hands of unknowns, not at the hands of Octavian's troops. It may well be that both Maecenas and Augustus, and especially the Etruscan Maecenas, could understand that Propertius would have been severely affected by these events. If the Volcacii Tulli could be forgiven by Octavian for backing the wrong horse initially in 41 BC, then it seems that there is no reason why Propertius might not also be forgiven for showing his feelings about the events at Perugia.

One puzzling feature of 1.22 is the fact that Tullus needed to ask Propertius about his background at all. The first two lines (*qualis et unde genus, qui sint mihi, Tulle, Penates, quaeris pro nostra semper amicitia.*) are translated by Goold as 'What is my rank, whence my lineage, and where my home, Tullus, you ask in our eternal friendship's name'.⁴⁹ A better translation would seem to be 'You ask me, Tullus, because of our long-lasting friendship, what kind of man I am, what my family background is, and where my household gods are to be found'.⁵⁰ The first part of the question would allow Propertius to answer in a variety of ways about his social, political and even sexual status, not just his rank, as Goold's translation suggests. For example, he could state whether he was freeborn, freedman or slave, whether he was a Roman citizen or not, whether he was patrician or plebeian, whether he was a republican, whether he supported the new regime or not. He does not answer this part of

the question in the elegy. The second part of the question seems unnecessary, since Tullus' uncle was his patron and the younger Tullus must surely have known his client's family background. The consular Tullus' family was from Perugia and it seems very likely that he would have known Propertius' family, which was important in nearby Asisium, especially if some members of that family, such as Gallus, fought in the Perusine War. Putnam raises this point, but does not answer it.⁵¹ Propertius, therefore, invented the question (a common literary device) so that he could allow himself the opportunity to express his feelings about the events at Perugia. The third part of the question uses the word '*Penates*'. *Penates* (the gods of the hearth and the store-cupboard) are the gods which protect a particular family or community.⁵² At the entrance to most Roman houses would be a *lararium*, in honour of the gods which the family believed would protect them.⁵³ It was possible to have a sanctuary to the *Penates* of a community, as there was on the edge of the *forum* in Pompeii. It is possible that Tullus' real question to Propertius might have been what he considered his *patria* (*patriae* line 3), if one links this word to *Penates* in the first line. One is reminded of Cicero's discussion of *duae patriae* in *de Legibus*.⁵⁴ Cicero argues that all men from Italian communities have two homelands, the place of their birth and the place of their citizenship (i.e. Rome), the first their homeland by location (*loci patria*), the second their homeland by law (*patria iuris*). While he argues that first allegiance should be to the place of citizenship, he concedes that he can never be divorced from his relationship with the place of his birth. The Roman poet Ennius is an earlier example of a man from southern Italy who was granted Roman citizenship through the intercession of his patrons, the Scipiones. Although he became a Roman citizen, after his death his remains were returned to his native Calabria. Propertius had now lived in Rome for about ten years. His household gods should have been with him in the house where he lived on the Esquiline. The answer is that Tullus was asking him whether he considered himself Roman first, Umbrian/Etruscan second. There is the contrast between *Italiae* in line 4 and *Romana* in line 5. Propertius' answer in line 6 is that he was Etruscan or in line 9 Umbrian first. He had not yet made Rome the focus of his allegiance, because he saw Rome as responsible for the traumatic events of his youth. So, when asked where his household gods are, he replied clearly that he still saw his home to be the place where he was born (*me genuit* line 10). He wished to conclude his first book of love elegies with a Callimachean *sphragis*, in which he made clear that it was his birthplace which was most important to him because of, and in spite of, the traumatic events of his youth. This is the only part of Tullus' question which Propertius addresses in the elegy.⁵⁵ The elegies of the *sphragis* clearly show that there was a strong Umbrian/Etruscan influence on the writing of Propertius. He could not divorce himself from the events which so affected his formative years, and from his allegiance to his family and his native land. Roman argues that: 'Propertius' Umbrian *patria* borders on Perugia, a place identified with horrific violence'.⁵⁶

It can be concluded that the last two elegies of the *Monobiblos* are indeed Propertius' *sphragis* to his first published work, in which he makes clear to the reader that he comes from Umbria, that he considers Umbria to be his *patria* and that he is proud of his Umbrian/Etruscan heritage. He still regards himself as Umbrian/Etruscan rather than Roman, in spite of the fact that he is a Roman citizen and a member of the equestrian class. In establishing this heritage, he refers to the traumatic events of the Perusine War of his youth. Because these events involve Octavian, it is possible to argue, as Stahl does, that the elegies are political, since Propertius' family suffered loss of life and property in the war. Yet, since Propertius chooses not to ascribe the death of Gallus to Octavian's troops, but to unknown hands (1.21.7–8), it could be argued that the elegy mourns the senseless losses in war rather than being a direct or implied attack on Octavian. *Elegy* 1.22 places responsibility for the losses in Italy on civil strife in Rome (*cum Romana suos egit discordia cives* 1.22.5) rather than directly upon Octavian, the victor at Perugia. It is possible to infer, as Stahl does, that the two elegies are a subtle criticism of Octavian, but this is to read more into them than is there. Cairns, on the other hand, argues that Propertius would have been more tactful when publishing the *Monobiblos* at such a sensitive time.⁵⁷ This chapter argues, however, that, when asked about his homeland, bitter memories are evoked in Propertius, memories that he would like to forget, but cannot, a view which Stahl holds. Here, as elsewhere in the *Elegies*, his reference to the events is not direct, but is presented obliquely.⁵⁸ He is saddened by the way in which Rome's internal strife had such a devastating effect on the Italians and particularly upon his homeland. The poems reject war and also make clear the effect that the events of the Perusine War had upon a young and impressionable Propertius. The fact that these events involved Octavian makes it necessary for Propertius to tread with care when mentioning the events of the Civil Wars in Books 2, 3 and 4.

The move to the patronage of Maecenas

When did Propertius come under the patronage of Maecenas? Hodge and Buttimore argue that the *Monobiblos* must have been published after 29 BC, as 1.6 refers to the pro-consulship of Lucius Volcarius Tullus, governor of Asia in 30–29 BC.⁵⁹ Since elegies in Book 2 refer to events in and after 27 BC, Hodge and Buttimore argue that the *Monobiblos* was published before 27 BC. The first elegy of Book 2, published in or after 26 BC, represents a major shift in the life of Propertius, as he has moved from the patronage of Tullus and Cornelius Gallus to that of Maecenas, whom he acknowledges in this elegy.⁶⁰ It seems probable that Propertius' move to the patronage of Maecenas occurred about the time that his two earlier patrons left Rome for service overseas. Tullus (*consul ordinarius* 33 BC) followed his consulship with governorship of Asia in 30–29 BC. Gallus, if he is the elegist Cornelius Gallus, was a general under Octavian and held Africa during the time that

Octavian was in Egypt finishing the war against Antony and Cleopatra. As a consequence Octavian appointed him as first governor of Egypt. It is possible that, with his two patrons overseas, Propertius was in need of financial support and that he was able to secure such support from Maecenas. Maecenas may well have recognised Propertius' talent as a love elegist by this time and have been keen to add him to the group of poets under his patronage. Further to this, Gallus, who had been successful on behalf of Octavian in Egypt, had fallen from favour because he let power go to his head.⁶¹ Ancient authors suggest financial misconduct, behaving like a despot, and verbal insults of Octavian.⁶² He was condemned to exile and confiscation in 27 or 26 BC and, when Augustus withdrew his friendship, he committed suicide in 26 BC.⁶³ The Volcacii also fade out of the picture at this time. Cairns suggests that they may well have fallen from favour because of their close links to Gallus.⁶⁴ He argues that the evidence in 3.22.1 suggests that the younger Volcaci Tullus was in exile at Cyzicus. It seems probable, therefore, that Propertius came under the patronage of Maecenas, and indirectly Augustus, in 27 or 26 BC at a time when Augustus had become *Princeps* and the new regime was established. He was probably the last poet to enter Maecenas' patronage. He became part of the group a decade after Virgil and Horace.

The patronage of Maecenas and its consequences

The question which still divides scholars on Propertius is whether he became a mouthpiece for the Augustan regime after he entered the patronage of Maecenas. Before embarking on a consideration of the opposing views on this matter, it is worth bearing in mind Margaret Hubbard's important observation about the poets of this period. She considers that 'the facts of these years of the twenties, if we contrast them with those that followed, show that poetry was not yet under pressure. In consequence, the *régime* was granted a glory that its ultimate tendency belied'.⁶⁵ She argues, however, that in 2.1 Propertius brings up the issue of the Perusine War, an event of which 'few cared to remind the clement *princeps*', and that the elegy is evidence of 'a heart not reconciled to the *régime*'. She considers that, as a consequence of this, we have to consider whether what Propertius offers is mockery of the new *régime*. She supports her case by consideration of 3.4, where she argues that Augustus cannot have liked the elegy, especially since his loyal friend Horace refrained from such criticism. Sullivan argues that 3.4 is 'an ironic anti-war poem' in 'pronounced defiance of the Augustan literary establishment'. He concludes: 'If any one poem summarizes Propertius' attitude to Augustan Rome, it is this'. 'After these five defiant elegies, which express most clearly Propertius' anti-Augustan attitudes, he returns in the poems following to his central themes, Cynthia and Love'.⁶⁶ Stahl, too, argues that Propertius is constantly subversive, although often very subtly, to the Augustan regime.⁶⁷ Stahl, in discussion of 2.10 asks why Propertius takes the trouble to produce 'a deceptive form of surface promise and subsurface

denial'. His answer is that Propertius 'was exposed to considerable pressure – more pressure than some critics today are inclined to ascribe to Maecenas or Augustus in their dealings with contemporary writers'. In his summary of his discussion of 2.1 he concludes that the elegy shows that the poet's priorities remain the same, but that Propertius is prepared, in response to external pressure, to adapt his presentation so that there is 'superficial homage' to Augustus even if his true message does not change.⁶⁸

An alternate view is expressed by Cairns, who, much in response to the views of Stahl, considers both Maecenas and Augustus to be positive influences on Propertius.⁶⁹ He also asserts that Propertius is 'an encomiast of the Augustan regime and a spokesman for a recreation of the Roman past which it promulgated', especially based on his interpretation of 4.6 in his article of 1984, and attacks the views of Stahl and others who consider him to be subversive with an undercurrent of criticism of the regime.⁷⁰ Cairns' case is weakened by the fact that he seems to start with the premise that Propertius was a loyal mouthpiece for the Augustan regime and makes sure that any evidence which might subvert that view is refuted or ignored. It is good scholarship to refute an argument with a counter-argument, but not good practice to ignore difficult evidence.⁷¹ Cairns is certainly at the opposite end of the spectrum from those like Sullivan and Stahl, who see Propertius as constantly, and often very subtly, subversive to the regime. A more balanced view, and one more in accord with the conclusions reached by the research for this chapter, is expressed by Roman, who, in his discussion of 2.1 as *recusatio*, argues that 'Propertius does not openly criticize Augustus, or even ignore him, but insists on the specific capacities and parameters of elegiac verse', because, he claims:

the relevant point, Propertius insists, is that the development of such Augustan themes would be impossible in his *mollis liber*. ... Whereas Propertius previously contemplated the idea of writing the praises of Maecenas and Augustus, he now finally affirms his confinement to his own proper sphere: the Callimachean domain of the narrow bed, where he conducts the battles of love (*versamus proelia*), and writes elegiac verse (*vers-amus*).⁷²

The chapter on Maecenas argued that Propertius gained great benefit from the patronage of Maecenas and repaid that debt with his support for Augustus and his achievements, a view supported by Cairns, who also argues that it was Maecenas who encouraged Propertius to move from 'erotic elegy to elegies embracing moral, social and political themes'.⁷³ He argues that this cannot have been difficult, as Propertius would have felt very grateful for his inclusion in Maecenas' group of poets, and that Maecenas would have urged the changes with tact. He also points to the fact that Propertius lived very close to Maecenas on the Esquiline, together with several other poets in the group.⁷⁴ This would have kept him in constant contact with Maecenas. It would also have made it difficult for Propertius to write in

a derogatory way about either Maecenas or Augustus.⁷⁵ This is an important point which seems to be ignored by some of those who see Propertius as a critic of Augustus and his regime.

The second question, which has received less attention, is whether Maecenas' patronage brought an Etruscan influence to his poetry. Cairns supports the idea that Maecenas, a strong believer in Etruscan lifestyle, may have encouraged Propertius to display his own affinity to the Etruscans in his elegies. He writes 'As regards Propertius, it cannot be fortuitous that his Books 2–4 display both Etruscan subject-matter and a pro-Etruscan attitude, and Maecenas will surely have inspired them to a significant degree'.⁷⁶ He uses as evidence elegies 2.13 (with references to archery and the Tiber), 4.1 (the comparison of Augustan Rome with Rome of the past), 4.2 (an elegy on Vertumnus, an Etruscan god), 4.9 (the founding of the *Ara Maxima*) and 4.10 (the origins of Fere-trian Jupiter). He also points out how elegies 2.1 and 3.9 refer to virtues of Maecenas which are due to his Etruscan heritage. Indeed, the fact that there are minimal references to Etruria and things Etruscan in the *Monobiblos*, whereas there are increased references in the later books, supports the view that coming under the influence of Maecenas encouraged Propertius to turn to Etruscan themes. In 1.8 Propertius hopes that Cynthia will not depart by ship from Etruscan sand (*Tyrrhenia harena*). In 1.13 he states that he does not rely on augury (*augure*), an Etruscan speciality, to know that Cornelius Gallus is enraptured with a new girlfriend, as he has seen it with his own eyes. In 1.20, a cautionary elegy written for Cornelius Gallus, he writes that wherever Gallus sails, even on a river flowing through wooded Umbria (*sive leges Umbrae rate flumina silvae*), he should beware of losing his boyfriend to the Nymphs. The final two elegies of the *Monobiblos* (1.21 and 1.22) refer to Propertius' own birthplace and the Perusine War. The references to Etruria in the *Monobiblos* are indeed very limited, although the last two elegies are crucial to establishing his feelings for Etruria and the suffering inflicted on Etruscans by the Romans. The Etruscan element in Books 2–4 is greater, but does not seem to warrant Cairns' assertion. This issue is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

A consideration of 2.1 as *recusatio*

The first elegy of Book 2 is addressed to Maecenas. Some, such as Stahl, consider that this first elegy was in fact written, as a preface to the second book some time after many of the elegies of Book 2, which may have been composed between the end of the *Monobiblos* and his acceptance into the literary circle of Maecenas.⁷⁷ Although Cairns considers that Maecenas was an important influence on Propertius' writing in Books 2 and 3, Stahl argues, especially in his chapter entitled '*No Epic for the Master of Rome*', that, whatever influence Maecenas had on Propertius, he was not able to persuade him to be obsequious towards Augustus in his poetry. The argument of this chapter is that the move to the patronage of Maecenas must have had an effect on the way in which he wrote his poetry thereafter, especially since he

was living very close to Maecenas on the Esquiline. Yet it seems clear also that Maecenas did not compel him to abandon love elegy to concentrate on writing poetry which might better serve the political desires of the *Princeps*. Propertius has, however, been able to accommodate his patron, and therefore the *Princeps*, with other topics which were more akin to what the *Princeps* might desire, even though he avoids topics which might involve discussion of the events of the Civil Wars.

An important issue is raised by the first elegy of Book 2 and other elegies. Cairns states 'Thus 2.1, prologue of a book dedicated to a new patron who ostensibly sought epics from all his poets, is an overt *recusatio*'. Many scholars refer to the *recusatio* of Propertius.⁷⁸ One has to ask whether Maecenas actually asked him to write an epic poem for Augustus, or, indeed, asked all his poets to write epic. Virgil, it seems, began to write his great epic to honour Augustus in 29 BC in response to a request from Maecenas.⁷⁹ Virgil had already shown himself to be a master of the hexameter, the metre of epic. He had also been under the patronage of Maecenas since 38 BC and had written the *Georgics* at the request of Maecenas, and perhaps Augustus.⁸⁰ If Maecenas had persuaded a poet in his circle to write a Roman epic, it seems unlikely that he would need to ask other poets to do the same. By the time that Propertius entered Maecenas' literary circle, Virgil was well advanced on the *Aeneid*. It seems very unlikely that he would ask Propertius, who had shown himself to be a master of love elegy, to try to write an epic. Propertius himself makes it clear that he believes that others, such as Virgil, not he, were qualified for this.⁸¹ It seems much more likely that Maecenas asked him to write elegies on topics other than love, topics which would be flattering to Augustus. In 2.1 Propertius writes that, if he had to write heroic poems, they would not be about mythology (perhaps a reference the *Aeneid*), but about the achievements of Augustus, or even of Maecenas (lines 17–26). Griffin argues that:

Still in Book 2, Propertius, who has now been taken up by Maecenas, flattered, and urged to write panegyric, shows recalcitrance: he is, defiantly, a love poet, and a poem on Octavian's achievements, if he wrote one, might not please – he would have to tell of the ruin of Etruria.⁸²

In lines 27–40 Propertius makes it very clear that he would rather write about love and peace, because war brings back so many dreadful memories of civil war, and that epic is not for him.⁸³ Lines 41–42 suggest that the main subject of Virgil's epic, the link between Augustus and his Trojan ancestor Aeneas, was known to Propertius when he composed this elegy. Sullivan writes:

In the middle of poem 1 of Book 2 Propertius claims that, if not a love poet, he would write contemporary epic and celebrate Augustus, but then alludes to the most painful episodes of the Civil War – Mutina, Philippi and the Perusine War.⁸⁴

He presumably means that these are events which cause grief to Propertius, but are also events of which Augustus would prefer not to be reminded. This seems to be an excessively negative view. This chapter argues that, although 2.1 seems to be in the form of a *recusatio*, it is highly unlikely that Maecenas ever asked Propertius to write an epic in favour of Augustus, but that Propertius produces what appears to be a *recusatio* so that he can re-assert that his forté is the elegy of love and that he intends to keep on writing such poetry, even if others might expect him to widen his repertoire. Perhaps his *recusatio* in 2.1 was produced because it had become standard for poets of the time to claim that they were not up to writing epic, because their expertise lay elsewhere, as Sharrock and Ash suggest.⁸⁵

His reluctance to write epic can also be seen in 2.10, 3.4 and 3.9. He seems to be saying that epic is the appropriate form for writing about war and that it is his reluctance to write about war, and especially the all too recent events of the Civil Wars, which makes him unwilling to write even substantial elegies on that theme. Although he admits in the first six lines of 2.10 that he would like to celebrate Augustus' military achievements, he suggests that he is likely to fail in the attempt. Epic is for older writers (Virgil is in his forties at this stage.). He is young and more suited to elegy.

He does seem, however, to be paying Augustus a compliment for expected military successes on the boundaries of the Roman world. In 3.4 he looks ahead to a successful campaign in the East which will avenge the loss of Crassus, his legions and Roman standards to the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 BC. He prays that he will live long enough to see the day when the spoils of this campaign are being paraded through the streets of Rome, yet he will view the parade in the arms of his girlfriend. As he is a young man, this could be seen as an expression of doubt that the expedition will either set off or meet with success, as he is unlikely to live long enough to see an Augustan victory. Sullivan argues that the elegy is an anti-war poem. He writes:

As if to stress this pronounced defiance of the Augustan literary establishment, elegy 4 is an ironic anti-war poem, in which Propertius gives his blessing to expeditions against India and Parthia, but insists that he will only watch the triumph from the side of the road, with his arms around his lady love. If any one poem summarizes Propertius' attitude to Augustan Rome, it is this.⁸⁶

It seems possible that Sullivan reads too much into line 15, which refers to Propertius watching the triumphal parade in the embrace of his girlfriend. It could be argued that rather than being taken as an ironic and subversive comment it is simply Propertius being whimsical. He is in favour of what Augustus is planning to do and hopes that it meets success, but war is not his concern, but the province of others. His interests are his relationship with his girlfriend and the writing of love elegies. Line 15 reminds us that this is the case. Propertius is more comfortable watching a triumphal parade

arm in arm with his girlfriend than he is writing about the military events which led to the parade. He might be suggesting, also, that he has conquered in love (*militia amoris*), whereas Augustus has not in war. Stahl, too, argues that, although on the face of it 3.4 seems to be very complimentary to the Emperor, when it is read in conjunction with 3.5, it is changed from 'blessing and praise to curse and condemnation'.⁸⁷ Cairns, on the other hand, argues that 3.4 is 'overtly pro-Augustan' and that Stahl has misunderstood the contrast produced by 3.5, which he considers to have 'impeccably Augustan (and Maecenatian) credentials'.⁸⁸ Cairns also devotes a whole chapter to discussion of 3.4 as a *propemptikon* copying a Gallan *propemptikon* for Julius Caesar.⁸⁹ He concludes that Augustus requested a similar poem from Propertius, as he planned his war against Parthia.⁹⁰ It is difficult to reconcile such widely divergent views. Each scholar argues his case persuasively and in great detail. In the end, it is up to the reader to make up his/her own mind, but Cairns' argument seems a more sensible appraisal of Propertius' poems than that of Sullivan and Stahl, because they seem to read more into the elegy than the text would suggest. It is true, however, that Cairns tends to overstate the positive case with words like 'overtly' and 'impeccably'. While 2.1 seems to meet the definition of a *recusatio*, it seems unlikely that Maecenas or Augustus would have asked him to write an epic in the *Princeps*' honour. It seems much more likely that it is Propertius' wish to emphasise that his *forté* is love elegy, and that he intends to stick to what he is good at.

In 3.9, an elegy addressed to Maecenas, he complains that Maecenas is trying to make him write poetry beyond his capabilities and that this is unfair, as Maecenas himself has always refused to exceed what he regarded as his appropriate station in Roman society (lines 1–8). Propertius seems to be willing to write about future overseas campaigns of Augustus, but not his past achievements. Sullivan considers this elegy to be a reaction to Horace's dedicatory address to his patron in *Carmina* 1.1. He writes:

This is Propertius' most devastating undercutting of the Augustan literary establishment and his most daring, if somewhat humorous, expression of opposition – and at Maecenas' expense. It satirizes Horace's dedication of his *Odes* by a far subtler poem. Propertius defends his chosen art form by suggesting that he, like Maecenas, has chosen to stay within his limits.⁹¹

While it is possible to agree with this last sentiment of Sullivan, he seems to overstate, on the evidence of the elegy, the extent to which it undercuts the literary establishment.

The conclusion of this chapter is that Maecenas did have a marked effect upon Propertius and his poetry, even if Maecenas' influence was limited by the fact that Propertius was willing to compose poems only on certain topics. Propertius clearly expressed a desire to continue writing love elegy and a reluctance to write on martial themes. He was especially reluctant to write about the past achievements of Augustus, as this would require him to

recall episodes of the Civil Wars which still touched a raw nerve. It also seems very unlikely that he was ever asked to write an epic about Augustus. We have already seen how Horace expressed his reluctance in *Carmina* 2.12.⁹² It is quite clear, however, that in Books 2 and 3 Propertius produces poems of a different nature from those in the *Monobiblos*, and that several of those poems (2.1; 2.10; 3.4; 3.5; 3.9) are favourable to the Augustan regime. Cairns judged that 'Propertius' writings under Maecenas' patronage began to move noticeably more towards themes of greater public and patriotic interest'.⁹³ This seems to be a correct assessment of Books 2 and 3. Propertius responds to the benefits of the patronage of Maecenas (and indirectly Augustus) by writing poems which honour both his immediate patron and the regime.

Propertius under the direct patronage of Augustus

When and why did Propertius come under the direct patronage of Augustus? Maecenas has been the subject of dedication in Books 2 and 3. It is suggested that Book 3 was published between 24 and 22 BC.⁹⁴ He is not mentioned at all in Book 4, where Augustus himself is seen as Propertius' patron. The chapter on Horace has already argued that Maecenas willingly conceded patronage of Horace to Augustus probably about 17 BC. It is very likely that Propertius moved to the patronage of Augustus at the same time. As a result, Maecenas was able to fade into the background, as he did generally in his last years, a fact which was discussed earlier in this book.⁹⁵ There is, however, no ancient evidence to support the fact that Propertius moved to the patronage of Augustus at a particular time.

Book 4 represents a major shift in Propertius' poetry. He refers to himself as the Roman Callimachus (*Romani Callimachi* 4.1.64) as he embarks upon a series of aetiological elegies, following the example of Callimachus' *Aetia*, poems which investigated myth, history and ritual. There are only two of the eleven elegies in Book 4 which can be called love elegies, 4.7 and 4.8. The first describes an encounter with the ghost of Cynthia and discusses her death; the second the way in which Cynthia interrupts a party which Propertius is attending. The other elegies can be termed aetiological. Propertius opens Book 4 with a statement that he is ready to sing about the greatness of Rome. This could be a sign that he is about to heap praise upon the Augustan regime. It is also possible that it is a smokescreen to hide the fact there are subtler messages in the elegies.

In 4.1 he guides the reader through Rome, as he compares the Rome of earliest times with that of his day, and ends with a prayer (lines 67–70) that he may be successful in this task. There is in the first thirty-eight lines, however, a constant contrast between Rome in the golden age of its mythological history and Rome as it is now in the age of Augustus. There are those, like Sullivan, Stahl and Miller, who think that 4.1 dismisses the idea that Augustan Rome is worthy of praise, because the time of Rome's existence to

be admired is the simple age of its early days, when the city had been uncorrupted by wealth.⁹⁶ Where buildings now stand, in the golden age there were open pasture and grazing land (4.1.2 and 4.1.4) and the early senators, in their animal skins, were summoned to meetings by animal horn (4.12–14).⁹⁷ There was simplicity in the ancient religious ceremonies based on native gods: (the *Parilia* (4.1.18–20), the *Vestalia* (4.1.21–2), the *Compitalia* (4.1.23–4) and the *Lupercalia* (4.1.25–6) and no need to consider foreign gods (4.1.17). Romans of the golden age could be considered true Romans, because they had yet to be mingled with people from neighbouring groups (4.1.37–8). Those Romans were armed with simple weapons (4.27–8) and neighbouring settlements seemed to be some distance away from Rome, which seemed no bigger than them (4.1.31–6).⁹⁸ Propertius emphasises the value of the simplicity of the earliest times. Augustan Rome, however, has expanded to become a very large city, which far excelled its neighbours in size. Many of those neighbours have either ceased to exist or have shrunk to insignificance. The open spaces and grazing land have gone, to be replaced with temples (4.1.3–7), some in honour of foreign gods, and theatres (4.1.15–6) with luxurious awnings and the expensive scent of saffron. The current senate house shines and is filled with toga-wearing senators (4.1.11). Few of the Romans who inhabited this huge city could claim to be descended from Romulus, as Romans were now an amalgam of peoples from all of Italy, who had been granted citizenship. The weapons of these Romans were no longer simple, but gleaming and hostile (4.1.27–8). This is presumably because they have been in constant use in the Civil Wars, then in action against foreign powers, such as Spain and Gaul, as Rome expanded its empire.

At first sight, therefore, Propertius seems to prefer the golden age for its simplicity to the complexity of the Augustan Age. Propertius would not be alone in expressing such a wish.⁹⁹ This hardly seems a ringing endorsement for Augustus. Yet, there is praise for Augustus, as one of the great features of the Augustan period was the rebuilding and refurbishment of temples and the building of new ones. Under Augustus the *Curia* had been rebuilt finally to replace the one burnt down after the death of Clodius in 52.¹⁰⁰ There were no permanent theatres in Rome before the first century BC, and Augustus rebuilt Pompey's theatre and built his own (the theatre of Marcellus) which was dedicated in 13 BC.¹⁰¹ There is indirect praise in the mention of Aeneas in line 2.¹⁰² The description of modern weapons as hostile (*infestis* 27) may be a rejection of war, and as such a subtle attack on the Augustan regime, but the first thirty-eight lines of the elegy could merely be a longing for a return to a simpler life and old values. The idea that it is a condemnation of the Augustan regime is countered by the fact that there is ample praise of Augustus and his achievements in these lines.

There is praise indirectly in the lines which follow. In lines 39–54 Propertius turns to the link between the fallen Troy and Rome. Here again (lines 43–50) there are suggestions of his knowledge of *Aeneid* Books 2 (728–9, 753–6), 6 (490–2, 836–40) and 8 (608–14). Just as Virgil wrote in *Aeneid* 1.283–5 in the

prophecy of Jupiter, Propertius, too, in lines 53–6 predicts that Rome will avenge Troy's loss to the Greeks, even though this had happened historically over a century before in 146 BC. The mention of Troy, its link to Aeneas and hence to the Julian family is complimentary to the emperor.

There is a change in direction in the last section of the elegy (lines 55–70). Propertius acknowledges the way in which Rome had developed since its foundation by Romulus (lines 55–6). He hopes that he will be able to use his verse to honour Rome, the city to which he has come to live and that Rome and its citizens will help him do it. He admits that Ennius, an epic poet, might have been better suited to do so (line 61), as his own poetry is better suited to the interests of Bacchus (62). Most importantly he hopes that his homeland Umbria will be proud of what he achieves. As Jeri DeBrohun points out, this is the first mention of Umbria since 1.22.¹⁰³ The repetition of Umbria in lines 63–4 emphasises the fact that he will not forget his roots in a hurry, even if he is now writing about Rome.¹⁰⁴ DeBrohun argues that his emphasis on *duae patriae* here is important for an understanding of what Propertius hopes to achieve in Book 4.¹⁰⁵ Propertius is unsure whether he has the capacity to do justice to his task of praising Rome in its current state, which suggests that Rome's current greatness would make the task so large, but feels that his poetry has brought glory to his native Umbria/Etruria. In the *sphragis* of the *Monobiblos* he asserts the importance of his native Umbria/Etruria. Here, in his last book, he re-asserts the importance of the place of his birth. He is immensely proud of his heritage and hopes that he has repaid with his poetry the debt which he owes to the land of his birth.¹⁰⁶ The last two lines (69–70) point to the fact that he will be more interested in writing in Book 4 about the simpler earlier ages of Rome than of its glorious present, just as had been the case in this first elegy of his new book. The view that the Rome of the Augustan Age is not worthy of praise is negated by the clear praise of what Augustus has done for Rome, even if Propertius does, like Virgil, long for a simpler life.¹⁰⁷ It is also negated importantly by the fact that aetiological poems were meant to look at myths, history and the origins of rituals rather than the current state of affairs.

Propertius, having steeled himself to write elegies on patriotic topics in 4.1, in 4.1B doubts his ability to do so, in what is known as the poet's horoscope. Apollo, the god of the lyre, does not approve of Propertius using his poetry for this purpose (lines 73–4). This is the same Apollo, whom Augustus considered responsible for his victory at Actium and to whom he dedicated a temple on the Palatine as a result of his victory over Sextus Pompey.¹⁰⁸ Propertius seems to be claiming that he can read divine signs (lines 75–8), much as Umbrians by augury and Etruscans by haruspicy are revered for their ability to see the future, and perhaps thereby linking in to his Umbrian/Etruscan origins.¹⁰⁹ He claims importantly in lines 79–80 that he has never let his native people down, as truth has always been a key feature of his poetry. Unlike others, he has not been prepared to sell his soul (lines 81–2). He highlights his strong connection to his Umbrian/Etruscan heritage, and his allegiance to the place of his birth

and upbringing is brought to the fore. The use of the word 'truth' (*fide* line 80) suggests that he has been honest in his praise of Augustus rather than subversive. He uses the same word (*fides* line 98) to end his first prophecy to Arria which follows. Yet, at the same time, he does not shy away from alluding in the lines which follow (89–98) to events which do not reflect well on the Emperor and his regime. He does, however, avoid the full truth, because he only directs our attention to the events of the Perusine War without going into the full and gory details. This allows him to remain true to his grief without being too offensive to Augustus.

Propertius then turns to the reliability of prophecy in lines 89–118. First he claims that he warned Arria that she was sending her sons to war against the signs of the gods and that they would not return alive. Lupercus fell from his horse in battle and was trampled to death by it; Gallus fell in front of the standards which he was protecting. This must be the same Gallus of 1.21 and 1.22 and the family hearth (*patrios Penates* – 91) is that of Propertius' own family and Arria is his relative. The link to *Penates* (1.22.1) and *patriae* (1.22.3) indicates that this is the case. So too does the mention of Umbria in 4.1 for the first time since the *Monobiblos*. Hutchinson argues that, although *Penates* in 39 refers to the *Penates Publici* which were brought from Troy, *patrios Penates* in 91 are those of Propertius family.¹¹⁰ If it is the same Gallus, Propertius here gives an entirely different version of his death from that of 1.21. This description would accord with the interpretation given by Frothingham.¹¹¹ The camp is that of the victorious followers of Octavian, where Gallus, who had fought for L. Antony, dies in front of the captured eagles. If this is the case, Propertius is still trying to hide what really happened, according to Appian, at the end of the siege in order to spare the relatives of Gallus. It is not clear that Propertius means by the greed of their mother (line 97), unless he means that she hoped that her sons would be on the winning sides at Perugia and she and they would benefit financially from their victory. It may simply be a general criticism of mothers or parents who allow their sons to go to war. War is a waste of life and tragic for humanity: peace (and love) is preferable.

It would not require a genius to recommend to a woman encountering prolonged childbirth that she should pray to Juno Lucina, the goddess of childbirth, but the outcome is successful and Propertius' reputation is enhanced (lines 99–102). In the lines which follow he enumerates the kinds of prophecies which were available (103–108), such as oracles, haruspicy and augury (which have their origin in Etruria, although this latter might be derived from the Umbrians), and hydromancy.¹¹² He dismisses these as worthless, however, in favour of the use of the stars and the signs of the zodiac, which he considers to be the best source of prophecy. His last example (lines 109–118) is a warning against slavishly following the advice of a seer, in this case Calchas, because initial success may lead to ultimate disaster. This episode allows him to refer again to the revenge which Rome will exact from the Greeks for the loss suffered at Troy. Again, the mention of Troy alludes to official ideology.

In the final section of the elegy (lines 119–50) he turns to his own horoscope and the role which he was destined to play in life. He reminds us once more of his native Umbria and Asisium, ancient Umbria with its well-known local gods (*notis Penatibus* – 121), and claims that he has made his homeland famous (126), as he returns to his pervading theme of devotion to his place of birth and upbringing. He relates how he had, as a youth (before he took off the *bullā* and donned the *toga virilis*), to bury his father and suffer land confiscations.¹¹³ When he donned the *toga virilis*, he did so under his mother's auspices, but Apollo demanded that he abandon a legal career to become a poet (131–4).¹¹⁴ He makes clear that his ordained task is to write elegy and that the elegy should be love elegy. He does this with military metaphors which highlight the idea of *militia amoris*, a concept first identified by Murgatroyd.¹¹⁵ The focus of his elegies will be the love of a woman who has him firmly in her grasp and against whom he has no defences. The very last line (150) seems to defy explanation, unless it is simply a warning that, whatever dangers he may be facing (147–9), it is to his (or Cynthia's) horoscope that he should attend and avoid activities which occur under the sign of the Crab (*Cancer*).¹¹⁶ In other words, he should concentrate on writing love elegy, not elegies involving military matters, because he is an unarmed fighter (and therefore lacks the skill) when it comes to describing the events of war. Although in 4.1 he has agreed to write of patriotic matters, in 4.1B he makes it clear that love elegy is his *forté* and that he is not equal to the task of writing about military achievements. There are certainly features of 4.1 which can be seen as favourable to Augustus, but there is also a strong statement of Propertius' connection to Umbria/Etruria.¹¹⁷

In elegy 4.6, Propertius acknowledges the victory of Augustus at the battle of Actium in 31 BC. It is not, however, a straightforward elegy of praise, since it is wrapped up in the reason for the establishment of the temple of Palatine Apollo, which was dedicated by Augustus in 28 BC as an offering to Apollo for his help in securing victory over Sextus Pompey (and presumably for victory at Actium).¹¹⁸ By concentrating on the dedication of the temple Propertius maintains a link to the aetiological nature of the elegies of Book 4. Griffin, in discussing whether Maecenas' poets eventually gave in to requests to write poetry in favour of Augustus, considers that:

In his last Book Propertius did what he could for Actium (4.6) but also succeeded much better with some edifying Roman aetiologies (4.1, 2, 4, 9, 10) and with a moving poem in memory of a lady, exemplar and paradigm of the Roman virtues and, by fortunate chance, connected to the imperial house.

(4.11).¹¹⁹

In the first ten lines of 4.6 Propertius takes the persona of the priest performing the rites for Apollo. There is a hint of Augustus' Trojan ancestry in the use of *Mygdoniis cadis* in line 8, since Mygdon was a king of Phrygia. The last two

lines (9–10) of this introduction are important, because Propertius, as the priest, prays for deceit (*fraudes*) and mischief (*noxae*) to be absent as he, Propertius (*vati* – line 10 – which means both a seer and a poet), embarks on the task of relating the events of Actium for the first time. This should mean that whatever he says in praise of the young Caesar is sincere and that he does not wish to offend the emperor. In lines 11–14 Propertius makes clear the aim of the elegy is to tell the story of the temple of Palatine Apollo and to sing the praises of Augustus. It is interesting that he addresses Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, not Euterpe, the muse of lyric poetry, as he embarks upon this task. He ends by asking Jupiter himself to find time to listen.

The elegy's description of Actium concentrates much more on the role of Cleopatra and the intervention of Apollo than on the action of Augustus. Propertius begins (15–24) by setting the scene for the battle and the opposing forces. Actium is a monument to Augustus' naval victory (17), which honours the emperor. The battle involves the Mediterranean world, as Cleopatra and her forces have joined Antony, although he is not mentioned by name.¹²⁰ Nor does Propertius name Cleopatra, as he refers to her as *femineae* (21), *femina* (57) *illa* (63) and *mulier* (65). Cleopatra and Antony are doomed at the hands of Augustus, the descendant of Trojan Romulus (21), and it is a woman who shames Rome by her armed opposition (22). Yet, in spite of Propertius' concentration on the foreign nature of the battle, there is a subtle reminder in line 22 that the battle involves Romans on her side. He describes her as armed with the quintessential Roman weapon, the *pilum*, which Postgate sees as 'degrading to the national Roman weapon as it is being wielded by a woman and an Egyptian'. Romans under Antony are fighting alongside Cleopatra, a disgraceful state of affairs.¹²¹ She faces Augustus, who is favoured by Jupiter, and has troops experienced in war and ready to defend Rome (23–4), again clear praise of Augustus. This has the added benefit of making the events at Actium a foreign war, rather than the decisive and conclusive battle of the Civil Wars. To some extent this salves Propertius' conscience, since he has previously shown considerable reluctance to refer to the Civil Wars. When the two fleets are finally drawn up for battle, Apollo, with flashes of lightning, makes a dramatic entrance on behalf of Augustus. This is not Apollo with flowing locks, the god of young men, or a god singing peaceful songs, but the destructive Apollo, who could send a plague upon the Greeks at Troy (25–36). Apollo addresses Augustus in flattering terms as saviour of the world (*mundi servator* 37), strong praise indeed, and tells him that it is up to him to defend a frightened Rome from this threat, if he is to live up to his ancestors (37–44). Apollo assures Augustus that he has come armed to fight on his behalf (39–40). In lines 45–54 he emphasises, on the one hand, the disgrace that it would be to lose the battle and urges Augustus not to be afraid, on the other hand, of what is really an empty threat. If his cause is just, he will win with Apollo's help.

There is no description of the fighting apart from the fact that Apollo empties his quiver into the enemy and his arrows are followed by a volley of

weapons from Augustus' men (55–6).¹²² The result is stated with great brevity (57). Rome wins because Apollo is as good as his word and Cleopatra suffers defeat. Her rule is over (58). For a contemporary Roman details of the battle are hardly necessary: the issues involved in the battle and its outcome are more important. Augustus' adopted father, Julius Caesar, now a god, acknowledges that the victory proves that Augustus is truly of his blood (59–60). The sea gods and goddesses applaud (61–2). This is clearly further praise of Augustus. The elegy turns back to Cleopatra and her escape from Actium to Egypt so that she puts off the day of her death (63–4). The fact that she is not captured means that this unworthy opponent will not be paraded in a triumph like real opponents of Rome, such as Jugurtha (65–6). The comparison with Jugurtha would remind the Roman reader of Marius and his connection to Julius Caesar and the Julian family. Jugurtha was strangled in prison on the day of the celebration of Marius' triumph after his victory in North Africa. Apollo earned his temple for his exaggerated (68) intervention on behalf of Augustus. There is indeed praise for Augustus for his victory, but it is restrained, since the victory is primarily that of Apollo. Propertius suggests, too, that Cleopatra is not a worthy opponent of Rome, even if she creates fear in the mind of Augustus and his troops. Yet Cleopatra (and Antony) did represent a real threat, and Augustus and his troops overcame that fear to defeat the enemy.

The use of Cleopatra as the focus of the enemy action creates problems of course. It has been suggested that Propertius felt more comfortable making Actium a foreign war rather than the final battle of the Civil Wars. It may well have suited Augustus too, as Syme suggests.¹²³ After all, victory over a foreign Cleopatra permitted the claim for a triumph which a victory in a civil war battle did not. Although the contemporary Roman audience was well aware that the battle ended the Civil Wars and led to the death of Octavian's great rival Antony, the failure to mention him by name helps to turn the focus away from the Civil Wars to a new era in which Roman arms are used to fight outsiders rather than in internal squabbles. It turns the focus to the important acquisition of Egypt as a province, the important source of much-needed grain and rich plunder. Although Cleopatra is not named, it is clear that she is the woman referred to. It is difficult to manage the fact that the leader of the enemy is a woman, who is not a worthy opponent and shames Rome by her opposition and creates fear in the hearts of the Romans. Yet, the Egyptians were formidable opponents, as Julius Caesar had experienced in the Alexandrian War. They do represent a threat to Rome, when their forces are combined with those of Antony, and a source of justifiable anxiety. In 3.11.29–32 he had presented Cleopatra as a threat to Rome, as her price for her disgraceful marriage to Antony was mastery of Rome. The convenience of Cleopatra's suicide prevents the parade of her through the streets of Rome as a captured enemy commander, something that might have caused derision. Propertius is brave enough to raise these difficult issues, but skirts round them by ascribing the victory over a foreign enemy to Apollo, something out of which Augustus made much mileage with

temples at Actium and in Rome, without having to express his true feelings about the Civil Wars, which might have offended Augustus.

A consideration of the elegy thus far shows that there is ample praise for Augustus – lines 13 ‘the poem is being written to honour the name of Augustus (Caesar)’ (*Caesaris in nomen ducuntur carmina*); 17 ‘Actian Leucas is a monument to Augustus’ naval victory’ (*Actia Iuleae Leucas monumenta carinae*); 23–4 ‘on this side are Augustus’ ships with their sails full thanks to the favour of Jupiter and his military forces which have learnt how to conquer on behalf of their homeland’ (*hinc Augusta ratis plenis Iovis omine velis/signaque iam patriae vincere docta suae*); 37–44 (Apollo’s speech):

Soon he spoke ‘Augustus, saviour of the world, sprung from Alba Longa, known to be greater than your Trojan forebears, win the battle at sea, as the land is already yours: my bow will fight for you and this quiver full of arrows on my shoulder will favour you. Free your homeland from fear, since, relying on you as her champion, she has loaded your ships with her prayers. If you do not defend her, it was not an auspicious moment when Romulus, seeking omens for his walls, saw the birds coming to the Palatine’ (*mox ait ‘o Longa mundi servitor ab Alba, / Auguste, Hectoreis cognite maior avis, / vince mari: iam terra tuast: tibi militat arcus / et favet ex umeris hoc onus omne meis. / solve metu patriam, quae nunc te vindice freta / posuit prorae publica vota tuae. / quam nisi defendes, murorum Romulus augur / lire Palatinas non bene vidit aves.’*);

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(Julius Caesar’s address) ‘I am a god, this victory is proof that you are descended from my bloodline’, (*sum deus, est nostri sanguinis ista fides*), (and the reaction of the sea-gods to his words) ‘Triton supports the words with his music, and all the sea-goddesses applauded round the standards of liberty’ (*prosequitur cantu Triton, omnesque marinae / plausuerunt circa libera signa deae.*). It seems very probable that Augustus would be flattered by all of this.

Propertius ends the elegy with the way in which he will celebrate the festival with food, wine and song. The singing will be led by Apollo, who has put aside his armour for songs of peace. Let other poets sing of foreign wars and any success in war against the Parthians, which will avenge the loss of Crassus (69–86). This reflects Propertius’ basic premise that he is a poet of love, not of war. It is an elegy in honour of Augustus and his victory at Actium, but such praise is hidden amongst the honours paid to Apollo and reflects the aetiological nature of Book 4.

How have scholars responded to this elegy? Early scholars, such as Butler and Boucher, regarded it as a serious poem in praise of Augustus by Propertius, who was committed to the regime. That view changed from the 1960s with the result that almost all critical analyses from that time regarded the elegy as bad and/or insincere. Williams thought that it was ‘one of the most ridiculous poems in the Latin language’.¹²⁴ Hallett considered it ‘an intentional failure on

Propertius' part'.¹²⁵ Sweet considered it 'a hiatus between Propertius' Callimachean pretensions and his artistic independence'.¹²⁶ Johnson considered it to be 'deliberate and ironic playfulness'.¹²⁷ Connor viewed the elegy 'as written in a cramped and bitter tone', and interpreted 'its seriousness as serving only to make the reader regard with despondency and alarm the events described by Propertius'.¹²⁸ Woodman and West in the introduction to their set of papers designed to counter this approach argue that 'in the 1960s there was a swing towards the iconoclastic, and sometimes cynical, view of the interaction of poetry and politics'.¹²⁹ Cairns contributed a paper on Propertius 4.6 in this collection. He argues that there is a very good reason why the praise of Augustus is not the primary focus of the elegy.¹³⁰ He presents a very cogent case for 4.6 being a choric hymn composed for performance, perhaps to celebrate the anniversary of the inauguration of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, so that the concentration of the elegy is bound to be on the god rather than the emperor.¹³¹ His argument is based on 'its thematic structure and verbal craft, its genre, its speakers, its occasion, and its rhetorical and literary background'. He argues, however, that, since 4.6 is thoroughly Hellenistic, this offends scholars who have a distaste for Hellenistic poetry.¹³² He writes that 'the elegy is a serious poem uniting Callimachean style with Roman moral preoccupations and containing a sincere eulogy of Augustus and his victory at Actium'. He attempted to set the elegy in the broader context by explaining that, whereas in civil wars Roman armies suffer disasters, in an era of civil peace they are victorious in foreign wars, and that, consequently, 4.6 is not just praise of Augustus' victory at Actium but of its greater significance for the well-being of Rome.¹³³

Cairns' argument seems very convincing, apart from his statement with regard to the Parthians and 'new enemies in the far north', since campaigns in Germany did not begin until 12 BC. Richardson sets the record straight on the Parthian issue by explaining that Augustus used diplomacy and bargaining power to secure the return of Roman standards and prisoners taken after Crassus' disaster at Carrhae in 53 BC. The Parthian king's son had come into Roman hands. Augustus returned him on condition that the standards and prisoners were returned. Success was not gained by military action, but the exchange maintained 'pressure on the Parthian king'.¹³⁴ This shows that Cairns overstates the Parthian issue, as the Parthians were hardly 'brought to heel'. He does, however, give a very good reason for the poem being centred on the god rather than the emperor.¹³⁵

Cairns, as well as Woodman and West, may well have thought that the argument of his chapter had put the issue beyond debate. Poem 4.6 was a choric hymn composed for a specific occasion in honour of Apollo, who was the personal god of Augustus, within which there was appropriate praise of Augustus and his victory at Actium. The issue was not dead, however, since Stahl responded in 1985 with his monograph in which he revived and expanded the negative view of the scholars of the 1960s and 1970s.

Although Stahl argued that Propertius gave in to pressure from Augustus when he wrote Book 4 and conceded that 4.1 shows that the Julian family had been responsible for rebuilding Troy in Rome, he argued that Propertius did not complete his new undertaking foreshadowed in 4.1, because it was not what he really wanted to do and the poems of Book 4 lack 'his personal involvement'.¹³⁶ He concludes: 'I think one may convincingly argue that Propertius did not feel able to continue his rejection of the tenets he had professed earlier'. He considers that this is because, with Cynthia gone, Propertius fell into silence rather than continue as a court poet.

In due course Cairns published his monograph on Propertius, in which he restated his positive view of Propertius' elegies. With respect to 4.6, however, his rejection of Stahl's views seems to lack the required specific detail. This may well be because he thought that his paper in 1984 had already settled the issue and did not need to be repeated. In the epilogue to their book, Woodman and West provided an excellent summary of the issue. They argue that 4.6. is a 'test case', because its subject, Augustus' victory at Actium, is worthy of epic treatment, but such treatment would be contrary to Propertius' Callimachean principles. They admit that, as Cairns points out, most recent critics have seen 4.6 as 'parody, insincere, or antipathetic to the Augustan ideal', but consider that Cairns is correct to see the elegy as a choric hymn with the result that the elegy can be seen as praise of Augustus when it is approached with the tradition of a choric hymn in mind.¹³⁷ If one accepts the validity of the argument put forward by Cairns about the choric nature of 4.6, then the positive view prevails over the negative. This should also mean that we should be cautious of the negative views proffered for other elegies.

Sullivan and Stahl argue that Propertius is not genuinely praising Augustus. Sullivan summarises such argument:

Many have taken Book 4 as Propertius' concession to Augustan pressures, his attempt, in poetic forms compatible with Callimachean principles, to produce, finally, something that could be accepted by Maecenas and as a genuine neoteric contribution to Augustan public poetry. Such critics argue that, however few and uninspired the elegies that unite Callimachean aetiological forms with Roman subject matter (2, 4, 9, 10), they are, with his eulogy of Augustus (6), the best he could do to show poetic support of the regime is mistaken¹³⁸

Stahl argues, too, against the positive view, when he states that 'we may assume that humiliated Propertius is paying political lip service, which will allow his nonadulatory [*sic*] poetry to survive as well'.¹³⁹ Cairns, in response to Stahl, asserts: 'Nowadays there should be little doubt about the genuinely Augustan character of Book 4'.¹⁴⁰

Alison Keith, on the other hand, sits on the fence when she argues that Propertius is neither pro- nor anti-Augustan. Her argument is that 'Roman

imperial rule, the new *pax Augusta*, and new forms of elite Roman political participation in imperial governance intersect in and inform Propertius' poetry'.¹⁴¹ She concludes that 'The pleasures of Propertian elegy – both licit and illicit – lie precisely in this heady combination of imperial leisure, love, and luxury, anchored as they are in the knowledge of Roman power and legitimacy'.¹⁴² Hutchinson sums up Book 4 as a 'spectacular, and bewildering, creation, unlike anything else in Augustan poetry'.¹⁴³ He charts the poet's progress when he argues that the 'book maintains a decorous surface of praise for the ruler' just as Propertius had 'adopted in books 2 and 3 a laudatory stance towards the *princeps*'. He argues, however, that Book 4 does not reflect a concession to pressure from the emperor, but continues to reflect his 'literary predecessors and his own design rather than the outlook of Augustus'.¹⁴⁴ This view would suggest that Propertius was not really pro-Augustus. This chapter argues, however, that, whatever the shortcomings, there is sufficient evidence in the elegies of a willingness on the part of Propertius to praise the achievements of Augustus. Book 4 is Propertius' attempt to come to terms with the demands of the Augustan regime, but he does this in his own distinctive way, because there are some memories which he does not wish to dwell upon.

There are also references to Augustus in elegies in Books 2 and 3. In 2.10 Propertius tries to encourage himself to abandon writing love elegy so that he can write on loftier subjects. Youth is the time to write of love (*aetas prima canat Veneres* 2.10.7) and he has explored in full the relationship with his girlfriend (*scripta puella meast* 2.10.8). Old age is the time to write of war (*aetas extrema tumultus* 2.10.7). This seems odd, since Propertius is far from old, as he was about thirty at the time when it is assumed his second book was published. Even if lifetimes were shorter in Roman times, he could only be considered middle-aged. It is possible that this is a suggestion that his attempt to write about war will be unsuccessful. He hints in line 5 that he may not be up to the task (*quod si deficient vires*). If he fails now, he can leave such topics to his old age. He compares the levity of love elegy (*humili* 2.10.11) with the effort required to compose elegies on war (*magni nunc erit oris opus* 2.10.12). He claims that, even if he is unsuccessful, he will be praised for having made the effort (*audacia certe laus erit: in magnis et voluisse sat est* 2.10. 5–6). The meaning of line 6 is perhaps intended to be ambiguous. Most translate *in magnis* as something like 'in great projects'.¹⁴⁵ It might also mean 'among important people'.¹⁴⁶ In other words he is saying that, if he tries to write elegies in honour of Augustus, he will at least satisfy Maecenas, his patron, and Augustus, even if he is not very successful in his composition. Whatever he means, the first twelve lines of the elegy do not suggest that Propertius is at all confident that he is up to the task.

This lack of confidence is confirmed by the last eight lines. He says that he is determined to sing of Augustus' military successes, because this will bring him fame as a poet (2.10.19–20), but realises that he cannot bring himself

to sing paeans of praise (*inopes laudis conscendere currum* 2.10.23), because he is still a love-elegist without any ability to write on epic themes (2.10.25–6). The six lines of the elegy which actually refer to Augustus' achievements (lines 13–18) are excessive in their praise. He suggests that the Parthians are restrained by the river Euphrates and the river regrets that it has been an imprisoning barrier to the survivors of Crassus' defeat at Carrhae (*iam negat Euphrates equitem post terga tueri/Parthorum et Crassos se tenuisse dolet* 13–14). The lands of India and Arabia, outside the boundaries of the Roman world, submit and tremble in the face of threatened Roman action (15–16). Richardson and Barbara Levick both explain what actually happened with respect to the Parthians.¹⁴⁷ This seems to be blatant pro-Augustan propaganda. Augustus himself claimed later that his forces had invaded Arabia and defeated 'substantial enemy forces', but it was a disaster. He does not claim to have invaded India.¹⁴⁸ He merely states that embassies came to him from India, something that had not happened to previous Roman commanders.¹⁴⁹ There is certainly evidence of trade from India via Egypt and Arabia.¹⁵⁰ Augustus may, however, have been flattered by Propertius' verses about the extent of his efforts on the boundaries of the Roman world and by Propertius' prayer that he may always be successful in his forays against such people (2.10.17–18). The fact that Propertius says so little about Augustus' military achievements perhaps reflects his unwillingness to be reminded of the Civil Wars and the effect which they had upon him as a young man, or the lack of military achievement between 27 and 16 BC.

Propertius praises the achievements of Augustus in 3.11, although the elegy's topic is the power of women and the brazen attack of Cleopatra on Rome. He begins by admitting that he is wholly within the control of his girlfriend Cynthia (3.11.1–4). He follows this with a list of women who had power over men in mythology, such as Medea and Penthesileia (3.11.9–28). In line 29 he turns to the threat that Cleopatra represented to Rome. He writes that the price that she demanded from Mark Antony, in return for their disgraceful marriage, was rule over Rome (31–2). It is interesting that he does not mention Mark Antony by name in this elegy, nor does he do so in 4.6. It has already been suggested that this may be because Propertius is following an Augustan policy. It could also be that he is reluctant to mention the name of Antony in reference to the Civil Wars, because that would remind him of Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's brother, who led the forces against Octavian at Perusia, and he does not want to be reminded of the events which occurred there. He mentions Mark Antony only once in the elegies (3.9.56), where, in an elegy dedicated to Maecenas, he refers to Antony's suicide as an event of Roman history without elaborating on the circumstances of it. Propertius perhaps regrets that Cleopatra, by committing suicide, escaped being brought to Rome as a prisoner (51–6). It may well be, as has been suggested, that Augustus was very grateful for the fact that he did not have to parade a defeated female commander through the streets of Rome. He very briefly states that Rome should praise Augustus for

saving the city from Cleopatra (49) and pray for a long life for the emperor (50) because he will keep Rome safe as long as he lives (57–60). Even Cleopatra is made to say that Rome was safe from her while Augustus lived (55). Such praise of Augustus may be brief, but, if sincere, it is high praise. Propertius lists some of the famous successes by Romans through the city's history, such as victories over Hannibal, Syphax and Pyrrhus, as well as heroes from Rome's early history, such as Camillus, Curtius and Horatius Cocles, but claims that all pale into insignificance compared to the importance of Augustus' victory. He manages, therefore, to praise Augustus for his victory at Actium in a brief and roundabout way. The elegy is not so much about the victory of Augustus, however, as it is about the dangers of powerful women, something of which Propertius is only too well aware.

In summary, a case can be made from elegies 2.10, 3.11, 4.1, and 4.6 that Propertius is willing to praise the achievements of Augustus in bringing the Civil Wars to an end and his efforts to expand the Roman empire and to establish its borders. Syme considers that:

For all his dislike of war, he [Propertius] could turn away from his love and his lover's melancholy to celebrate with fervour, and with no small air of conviction, the Wars of Actium, or to plead in solemn terms for the avenging of Crassus.¹⁵¹

He is not the sycophant that Sullivan and Cairns claim him to be, nor is there hidden criticism of the regime in all these elegies, as Stahl would have us believe. Stahl is correct in saying that he does not want to write an epic poem in favour of Augustus and his achievements, but it seems unlikely that it was ever a possibility. Propertius makes it very clear that his *forté* is love-elegy and that epic is beyond him. His reluctance to write such an epic does not mean that he was refusing to write elegy which praised the emperor, but his use of elegy as the medium for praise allowed him to present that praise contained among other themes and, at times, in a far from direct manner. Most of all, this approach allowed him to avoid discussing the events at Perusia which so traumatised his early life. It allowed him to maintain his native Umbrian/Etruscan feelings without openly offending the emperor.

The Etruscan element in Propertius' poetry

Cairns' claim that Propertius is the most Etruscan of the Roman poets of his age does seem to be supported by the evidence presented in this and the preceding chapters on Virgil and Horace. To what extent this is due to his position under the patronage of Maecenas is impossible to assess. It seems to be much more due to his family background. Cairns also considers that Books 2–4 show more Etruscan subject matter than the *Monobiblos* and are more pro-Etruscan in their attitude. Does the evidence bear out this claim?

2.1 is addressed in very complimentary terms to his Etruscan patron, Maecenas. Yet his only reference to the Etruscans in the elegy is in line 29 where he refers to the destroyed hearths of the ancient Etruscan people (*eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae*), by which he indirectly brings up the events at Perugia. In 2.19 he suggests to Cynthia that they should hunt animals or birds where Clitumnus flows (*qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina lucolintegit, et niveos abluit unda boves*. 2.1. 25–6). The source of the Clitumnus was made famous by Pliny the Younger in his *Letters*.¹⁵² The source of the Clitumnus is indeed a very beautiful and magical place. It is near to Spoleto and in Umbria, but not far from the borders of Etruria.¹⁵³

Cairns argues that elegy 2.13 too has an Etruscan influence, as the first line of most manuscripts reads *non tot Achimeniis armatur Etrusca sagittis*, a line which has often been emended by editors, for example *armantur Susa sagittis* in Goold's Loeb edition.¹⁵⁴ Cairns also understands references to the Tiber as Etruscan, as the river was often seen to be Etruscan, although it could equally be argued that the Tiber was Roman, since the river was shared by the two peoples.¹⁵⁵

Elegy 3.9 is, like 2.1, addressed to Maecenas. Although in the elegy Propertius declines the invitation to write epic, he is generous in his praise of Maecenas, who is an *eques* sprung from royal Etruscan blood (*eques Etrusco de sanguine regum* 3.9.1). When he claims that each man is best suited to his innate talents, he refers to famous Greek artists and to winners at the Olympic Games (3.9.9–18) before stating that he has adopted Maecenas' own approach to life (*at tua, Maecenas, vitae praecepta recepi* 3.9.21). It is well known that Maecenas preferred to keep a low profile, even though he performed many important roles on behalf of Augustus. Although he could have become a senator and played a greater role in government, he preferred to remain an *eques*, and to continue to generate wealth (*et omni tempore tam faciles insinuentur opes* 3.9.27–8). In 3.17, an elegy in honour of Bacchus, Propertius refers to the mythical story of Etruscan sailors being changed into dolphins, when they turned out to be pirates and intended to sell the god as a slave.

Lines 99–108 of 4.1B refer to skills in reading signs and foretelling the future, skills which were traditionally seen to be Etruscan. The same elegy refers to Propertius' Umbrian origins in Asisium and his early life there (lines 121–34). Horus states that Propertius has brought great fame to his native city, a claim that is also made in 4.1.63–66. In elegy 4.10 Propertius tells of the origins of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, to whom *spolia opima* were offered.¹⁵⁶ One of these *spolia opima* was a consequence of the killing of Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, by Cossus in battle at Fidenae in 437 BC (lines 25–38).¹⁵⁷ Propertius gives a different account from that of Livy (4.17–21), who places the contest at Veii rather than Fidenae. He ascribes wealth to Veii, a common feature of descriptions of the Etruscans and one in keeping with Livy's description of Veii (5.22.8).

The most significant elegy in terms of Etruscan issues is 4.2, an elegy in honour of the Etruscan god Vertumnus.¹⁵⁸ The strong repetition in line 3

makes it very clear that the god's origin is Etruscan (*Tusculus ego et Tusculis orior*). The god claims to have been brought to Rome in the very early days of the city's existence. Etruscans had come from Volsinii to help Romulus against the Sabines and brought the image of the gods with them (lines 51–2). The god claims that his statue was placed in the street named in honour of these Etruscans, the *Vicus Tusculus* (49–50).¹⁵⁹ According to the god the original statue was made of maple (59), but was later replaced by a bronze one (61) to which people brought offerings of first fruits (41–52). The god claims that by nature he could take any form which a devotee wanted (21–40). The elegy points to the fact that the Romans and Etruscans were involved in each other's lives from a very early time and that this Etruscan god is one of Rome's earliest. Sullivan sees a more subversive reason for the selection of Vertumnus.¹⁶⁰ He argues that, although the elegy is 'ostensibly light-hearted', there is an obvious undercurrent of 'pride in his Umbrian and near- Etruscan origins' and of 'criticism of Rome's treatment of one of her oldest allies'.

While it is true that there are more references to things Etruscan in Books 2–4 than in the *Monobiblos* and that Maecenas, as an Etruscan, may have influenced this, Cairns does not seem to be able to substantiate his claims that Propertius through his poetry is the most Etruscan of the Augustan poets. He develops this argument to try to prove his initial premise that Propertius is a loyal supporter of the regime and was influenced to be so by his patron Maecenas. While it is possible to agree with Cairns that it is very probable that Propertius would avoid criticism of his patrons Maecenas and Augustus and would not be as subversive as Sullivan and Stahl would have us believe, it seems that the one feature which comes through clearly in the elegies is Propertius' close relationship with his childhood home and his strong reluctance to discuss openly the events at Perugia and the confiscations of land which followed, events which had such a traumatic effect on him. Although he lived in Rome as a Roman citizen, he remained an Umbrian/Etruscan at heart.¹⁶¹ In this respect he seems to be similar to Maecenas. Although Maecenas threw in his lot with the young Octavian and was proved to have backed the right horse, and as a Roman *eques* became one of the most important figures in Rome of the Augustan Age, the picture presented to us by Roman writers is that of a man who valued his Etruscan origins. With the exception of the elegy to Vertumnus (4.2), an Etruscan god, the mere references to things Etruscan in the elegies are very limited and do not support the view that Propertius is 'the most Etruscan of the Augustan poets'. The elegies clearly point, on the other hand, to Propertius' very strong link to his Umbrian/Etruscan origins, and in this respect he is clearly more Etruscan than his contemporaries in the poetical world.

Conclusion

Sullivan gave weight to the idea that Propertius was really anti-Augustan. Cairns in his chapter in Woodman and West believed that he had successfully

countered this argument and that of others who followed Sullivan's lead. Stahl, however, responded by strengthening and expanding Sullivan's proposition. In his latest book Cairns, on the other hand, asserted that the anti-Augustan case had been proved to be wrong. Keith, however, presents a third approach, when she argues that Propertius is neither pro- nor anti-Augustan, as we have already seen.¹⁶² This chapter has struggled with the task of trying to reconcile the opposing views of eminent scholars, who argue their respective case eloquently and with much scholarship. Each scholar presents a persuasive case, based on a selection of Propertian elegies, for his or her own assertion. In the end, one wonders whether each side has wasted much time and paper in trying to make so much more of an issue which deserves consideration, but which seems to be blown out of all proportions.

This chapter concludes that Propertius remained the most fiercely independent of the three poets and the most reluctant to engage with the Augustan regime, but engage he did in his own way. Two recent books seem to support the conclusions reached. First, Goldsworthy considers that to take either extreme view is misguided. He argues that the poets of Maecenas' circle were well aware of the fact that Augustus' power came from military might, but that the poets were not 'compelled to write' nor were the 'content and themes carefully controlled by Maecenas and through him by Augustus'. He considers that the work is neither 'propaganda' nor 'veiled subversion or hinted criticism of the *princeps* and his regime'. He argues that Augustus had the good sense to associate with only the best poets.¹⁶³

Roman, when discussing whether 'Propertius' attitude towards Augustus, as evinced by his various references to the *princeps* and his deeds, is somehow intrinsically politically subversive or supportive', argues that:

the very fact that Propertius continues to address Maecenas as a patron and write about Augustus in a manner that is not overtly hostile or dismissive attests, at the very least, to the acquiescence, if not the approval, of a proudly independent poet.

He concludes that: 'If the tension seems irreducible, it is because it was designed to be'.¹⁶⁴ Here, at last, are two views which avoid extremes and seem sensibly to evaluate the reality of the situation of the poets in Maecenas' circle in relation to the *Princeps*.

This chapter also argues that there is indeed enough praise of Augustus in the elegies to satisfy the emperor. This praise may not seem to stand out because of the way in which Propertius embedded it in other issues, such as praise for Apollo in 4.6, by his aetiological approach. There is enough evidence in Book 4 to suggest that Propertius is responding to requests from the Augustan regime. He does so, however, in his own particular way. The tragic events of his youth prevent him from praising Augustus for his achievements in the Civil Wars. He refers to the events of the Perusine War, but only briefly and not in a way that should be offensive to Augustus. Other campaigns in the

Civil Wars also receive scant treatment. By refusing to mention Antony and by concentrating on Cleopatra, he makes Actium a foreign victory rather than the decisive battle of the Civil Wars. He abhors war and prefers to concentrate on the poetry of peace and love.

This chapter has argued that Propertius was deeply affected by the events at Perusia and that this coloured his approach to writing poetry. There were some issues which he expressed great reluctance to engaging with, especially the Civil Wars. Forgiveness does not seem to have featured in Propertius' mentality, unlike Horace. Although some of his elegies can be read as praise for Augustus' achievements, his reluctance to refer to events of the Civil War seems to stem from an inability to forgive and a wish not to be reminded of the terrible events at Perusia.¹⁶⁵ He does, however, engage sufficiently with the Augustan regime to satisfy Augustus. Propertius, although content to live in Rome and to enjoy the pleasures which the city offered, could not free himself from his Umbrian/Etruscan origins.

Whatever is the correct view of Propertius' attitude towards the Augustan regime, there can be no doubt that he expressed his great gratitude to Maecenas for the support which he had given him and for the moral example which he had set. While it is true that he asks to be allowed to pursue his current poetic pursuits in 3.9.1–9, it is clear that Maecenas did not put pressure on him to move to a new style of poetry, but was happy for him to continue on his course, just as Propertius points out that Maecenas had maintained the status of his choice. Propertius states that he has followed Maecenas' example (and even tried to surpass it) of humility and loyalty (3.9.21–34). Propertius acknowledges Maecenas' lineage (3.9.1) and his role in helping Augustus' rise to power and the roles which he played on behalf of Augustus without abusing his power (2.1.17–36; 3.9.21–34). He realises what poetic opportunities Maecenas had opened up for him by his support and that any fame which he achieves will be due to that support. There is great sincerity in his acknowledgement of the debt owed to his patron, his expressions of gratitude and his admiration for Maecenas.

Notes

- 1 There have been many scholarly papers, but most of these address a particular point or a narrow area of his poetry, such as those of Judith Hallett (1971) and Maria Wyke (1992), and approach the poems from a narrow perspective like gender.
- 2 It is worth pointing out that Stahl (1985), for example, considers only fourteen elegies relevant to the area under consideration.
- 3 Butler and Barber (1933).
- 4 Woodman and West (1984) 189 claim:

The political element in Augustan poetry caused unease to many Latinists who wrote during the 1960s under the influence of those pendulum years. The war in Vietnam and the invasion of Czechoslovakia helped to generate a cynical attitude towards imperialist politics among people of widely different

political persuasions. Their (often unspoken) argument went as follows. No good poet can seriously support an illiberal regime; therefore, if an otherwise good poet writes poetry which appears to support such a regime, that poetry must either not mean what it says or be bad poetry. Gordon Williams (Williams 1968, 9) was atypical of scholars when, at the end of the decade, he wrote that the leading characteristic of Augustan poetry was its “serious political commitment”.

Williams seems to have a point, even if he overstates the case. He could see that other commentators were allowing their personal experiences to cloud their judgment of Augustan poetry.

- 5 Sullivan (1976, 1) claims that most authorities place his birth about 48 BC, but admits that conservative opinion pushes it back to 54 or earlier. He does not provide supporting evidence for a date of 54 or earlier. Hodge and Buttimore (1977) argue that the earliest date for his birth is 57 from the information in 4.1.120ff about his assumption of the *toga virilis*. Cairns (2006, 25) suggests 58–55. As Cairns (2006, 3) points out, three other places have been suggested as his birthplace (Urvinum Hortense in Maddoli (1963), Perugia in Gold (1987, 143), Mevania in Du Quesnay (1992, 77–8), although the evidence in the *Elegies* and from inscriptions (e.g. *ERAssisi* 25) makes it clear that Asisium is his birthplace.
- 6 *ossaque legisti non illa aetate legendal patris et in tenuis cogeris ipse lares:/ nam tua cum multi versarent rura iuveni,/ abstulit excultas pertica tristic opes./ mox ubi bulla rudi dimissast aurea collol matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga.-*

You gathered together the bones of your father, a task which should not have to be undergone at such an age, and were forced to live in a smaller house; for although many bullocks used to turn over your land, the unkind rod of the surveyor took away from you your well-cultivated land. Soon, when the golden *bull* was removed from your young neck, you put on the toga of manhood before your mother's gods.

- 7 Binder in *NP* (2002, 1, 334).
- 8 Suet. *Aug.* 8. Suet. *Verg.* 6 also states that Virgil assumed the *toga virilis* on his fifteenth birthday.
- 9 Stahl (1985, 119–21). *Contra* Nicholson (1999, 150).
- 10 Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.49–52.
- 11 Griffin (2004, 56) suggests, from references in 1.6 and 1.14, that Volcarius Tullus may have been more a family friend of similar status rather than patron. Volcarius Tullus was the nephew of the *consul ordinarius* of 33 BC. L. Volcarius Tullus.
- 12 Cornelius Gallus was the poet and general under Octavian. See further on pp. 175–6.
- 13 Cairns (2006, 47).
- 14 Suetonius wrote that three hundred senators and knights were killed (Suet. *Aug.* 15), a view supported by Dio (48.14.3–6), whereas Appian wrote that it was only the town council (Appian *BC* 5.48), a view which supports Velleius Paterculus (2.74.4). Those who support the view of Suetonius include: Eck (2007, 21); Eder (2007, 19); Clark (2010, 63); Levick (2010, 35); Richardson (2012, 50). Osgood (2006, 172) considers the two different views expressed by the ancient writers and concludes that it is difficult to come to any firm answer.
- 15 We cannot be sure when he died. It is possible, as Sullivan (1976, 3) suggests, that his fourth book of elegies was published posthumously at some time after

- 16 BC. We can be sure from a reference in Ovid (*Rem. Am.* 764) that he had died before 2 BC.
- 16 The death of Cornelia, the subject of 4.11, was, for example, in 16 BC.
- 17 Hubbard (1974, 118).
- 18 Clearly some Italian scholars consider his death to have been in 15 BC, as they held a conference in Assisi in 1985 to celebrate the two thousandth anniversary of Propertius' death.
- 19 Cairns (2006, 271).
- 20 In 1.22 he clearly states that he was born in Umbria, but there are suggested links to Etruria in the elegies, as will be seen. For the sake of consistency, this chapter refers to him as 'Umbrian/Etruscan'. Emilio Gabba (1986), following Heurgon (1964), argues that opposition outside Rome to the reforms of Livius Drusus in 91 BC was centred on the united opposition of the Etruscans of Clusium and Perusia and the Umbrians of Asisium. He also argues that the events of the Perusine War were concentrated in Umbria and Perusia, and that, after the resulting confiscations by Octavian, the whole of Etruria was in revolt against Octavian together with the Umbrians near Asisium. Bradley (2000, 5, 18, 82, 98–9, 100–101, 154, 166, 187–9, 190, 200–2, 216, 268) on several occasions points to the strong link between the Umbrians and the Etruscans near their border, and to Etruscan influences on many of the nearest towns to Etruria.
- 21 Livy 10.27.3.
- 22 Nethercut (1971, 465).
- 23 For example Hubbard (1974, 40); Sullivan (1976, 57); Parker (1992, 89); Cairns (2006, 261), although some use this term only with regard to 1.22, such as Hodge and Buttimore (1977, 215); Putnam (1982, 188); Stahl (1985, 102).
- 24 Nethercut (1971, 464).
- 25 Nethercut (1971, 470).
- 26 Davis (1971, 209–13).
- 27 This view is supported by Hodge and Buttimore (1977, 210–14).
- 28 Prop. 1.22.7 clearly identifies him as a relative (*propinquus*). See Stahl (1985, 99–129). Nicholson (1999), 146 argues that there are two different Galli, one the addressee of 1.20 and the other the dead soldier of 1.21. He considers that the addressee of 1.20 and three other poems of the *Monobiblos* is the father of the soldier, supporting the argument put forward by Hutchinson (1984, 103). Cairns (2006, 48–9), however, argues that the *propinquus* of 1.22 is the Gallus of 1.21, but concludes that it is not possible to expand the identification of Gallus. This seems to be to the best explanation.
- 29 Frothingham (1909).
- 30 He cites the evidence of Appian's description (*BC* 5.48) to support his case.
- 31 He cites Suetonius (*Aug.* 15) and Cassius Dio (48.14) as evidence for this.
- 32 Roman (2014, 134).
- 33 Lake (1940, 297).
- 34 Butler and Barber (1933).
- 35 Lake (1940, 300).
- 36 Sullivan (1976, 33).
- 37 Stahl (1985). Stahl's basic premise is that Propertius is critical of the regime.
- 38 Stahl seems to be expanding ideas already expressed by Sullivan (1976).
- 39 Stahl (1985, 99–129).
- 40 Cairns (2006, 47) thinks, however, that they changed to the Octavian side after the Perusine War.
- 41 I was advised by one of my supervisors to avoid taking this line, as it required speculation which could not be verified. I stubbornly refused because I saw my attempts to attribute an attitude to Propertius from my reading of his elegies to

be no different from the approaches of Stahl, who wants to see subversion and criticism of the regime in all Propertius writes, or of Cairns, who sees him as an apologist for the regime. One does not require a doctorate in psychology to be able to assess how a person may be affected by events in his or her life. I remember only too well the effects which my parents' divorce had upon me as a child. The events which involved Propertius as a teenager were far more serious than a divorce. I believe that I have argued from the texts a case which can be mounted and defended.

- 42 Parker (1992, 89).
- 43 He cites Verg. *G.* 2.184–7 as evidence for previous use of the image of dead bodies fertilizing fields (90).
- 44 Parker (1992, 91).
- 45 Sullivan (1976, 3), for example, states that it was probably published before 28 BC. See also Lyne and Heyworth in *OCD* (2012, 1220) before 28 BC; Hodge and Buttimore (1977, 9) between 30 and 27 BC; Stahl (1985, 105) 28 or 27 BC; Goold (2006, 1) 30 or 29 BC; Hutchinson (2006, 8) 27 BC.
- 46 Apul. *Apol.* 10.
- 47 Cairns (2006, 250). See also Lyne and Heyworth in *OCD* (2003) 1221 – between 28 and 25 BC.
- 48 Hubbard (1974, 40).
- 49 Goold (2006, 97).
- 50 Fedeli (1980, 499) supports such a translation. He does not, however, make any comment on *Penates*. Rothstein (1920, 205) argues that *genus* refers to ethnic origin rather than family.
- 51 Putnam (1982, 181).
- 52 Linderski in *NP* 10 (2007, 717–19). *Penates* were the 'gods of house, homeland and of oaths'. They were particularly the gods of the *paterfamilias* and of the Roman citizens. 'The public *Penates populi Romani Quiritium* (*ILS* 108) protected the Roman state'.
- 53 Horn in *NP* 7 (2005, 244).
- 54 Cic. *Leg.* 2.5.
- 55 Stahl (1985, 100) argues that Tullus, from a wealthy family with the correct connections in Roman society and involved as a military officer under Octavian, would be interested in Propertius' family background and whether his move to Rome had brought social advancement.
- 56 Roman (2014, 135).
- 57 Cairns (2006, 261).
- 58 Griffin (2005, 313) asserts that: 'The gentle elegist takes the opportunity to remind us, in the normally innocent context of signing off' of the events at Perusia, which Dio was to relate later (Dio 48.14).
- 59 Hodge and Buttimore (1977, 9).
- 60 Sullivan (1976, 3).
- 61 Suet. *Aug.* 66.2. See Levick (2010, 174–5); Richardson (2012, 94).
- 62 Ov. *Am.* 3.9.63–4; Ov. *Tr.* 2.445–6; Cass. Dio 53.23. See Levick (2010, 174–5, Richardson (2012, 94).
- 63 Suet. *Aug.* 66.1; Cass. Dio 53.23–24. See Levick (2010, 174–5); Richardson (2012, 94).
- 64 Cairns (2006, 75).
- 65 Hubbard (1974, 100–5).
- 66 Sullivan (1976, 37–8).
- 67 Stahl (1985).
- 68 Stahl (1985, 161).
- 69 Cairns (2006) responding to Stahl (1985).

70 Cairns (2006, 441).

71 For example, his discussion of the difficult elegies 4.1 and 4.6 is very limited, whereas Stahl devotes a whole chapter to them. He writes in general, dismissive terms of the opposite view without engaging in a detailed response. On p. 356 he writes, for example:

Nowadays there should be little doubt about the genuinely Augustan character of Book 4. Its central poem (6), once controversial and once even thought by some to be undermining its own literal sense, has now shaken off this interpretation. The only resource seemingly left to anyone wishing to view Propertius as “subversive” in Book 4 is to depict him there as, in effect, a cowed and beaten panegyrist of Augustus writing under duress!

There is a footnote referring to Stahl (1985) Chs. 11 and 12 as such a champion of a ‘subversive’ Propertius. There is also a footnote to Cairns’ own earlier work (1984) in which he presents 4.6 as Augustan. He may have felt, therefore, that it was unnecessary to repeat his case in his 2006 book. The failure to do so does, however, weaken his argument.

72 Roman (2014, 174).

73 Cairns (2006, 255).

74 Prop. 2.23.24. *et dominum Esquilis scribe habitare tuum*.

75 Cairns (2006, 257–61).

76 Cairns (2006, 272).

77 Stahl (1985, 162–71).

78 For example Sullivan (1976, 11) considers that both poems addressed to Maecenas (2.1 and 3.9) are an example of *recusatio*, where a poet argues that he is unequal to the task requested or is disinclined to pursue it.

79 Levi (1997, 231–7); Griffin (2002, 55–61).

80 Williams (1968, 17–22); Levi (1997, 75); Batstone (2009, 132), Fowler, D. and P. in *OCD* (2012, 1555–60). Donatus, however, suggests that he wrote the *Georgics* to honour Maecenas for saving his life from an angry retired soldier in an argument over the land of Virgil’s family.

81 Cairns (2006, 265–6) discusses the question of the poet’s artistic independence. He argues that the conventional *recusatio*, which was used by poets to show their independence by refusing to write what their patrons had not in fact asked them to write, gives rise to Stahl’s (1985, 164) claim of ‘implicit ridicule’. He writes ‘We cannot seriously imagine, as we might be encouraged to do by deceptive poetic *recusationes*, that Maecenas lined up Horace, Propertius, and the rest, and demanded an epic from each of them’.

82 Griffin (2005, 313–14).

83 Cairns (2006, 262–3) suggest that line 29 does not in fact refer to the Perusine War, but to continuing unrest in Etruria (Dio 49.15.1) which came to an end at a time when Maecenas had been given control over Rome and Italy by Octavian and would have been responsible for the suppression of the unrest in his native land. He argues that *eversosque focos* refers to the damage done by the insurgents rather than those who put down the unrest.

84 Sullivan (1976, 57). Benediktson (1989, 8) explains why Propertius appealed to Ezra Pound on political grounds. He writes:

The *Homage* was written in 1917, and Pound felt political pressures, stemming from the Allied situation in World War I, which he believed analogous to Propertius’ situation in the circle of Maecenas. For this we have Pound’s often quoted words: “I may perhaps avoid charges of further mystification

and obscurity by saying that it presents certain emotions as vital to men faced with the infinite and ineffable imbecility of the British Empire as they were to Propertius some centuries earlier, when faced with the infinite and ineffable imbecility of the Roman Empire”.

(Letters 231)

- 85 Sharrock and Ash (2002, 280).
- 86 Sullivan (1976, 37).
- 87 Stahl (1985, 195).
- 88 Cairns (2006, 344–5).
- 89 Cairns (2006, 404–43).
- 90 Cairns (2006, 347).
- 91 Sullivan (1976, 17).
- 92 See above pp. 156–7.
- 93 Cairns (2006, 256).
- 94 For example, Hubbard (1974, 23); Sullivan (1976, after 23); Fedeli (1985, 23–2); Hutchinson (2006, 23).
- 95 See above pp. 60–61 Cairns (2006, 279) writes:

In Book 4 Propertius gives much more attention to Roman aetiology, which by nature admits Etruscan material only when relevant to a specific *actio*. Moreover Propertius had by this time come under the protection of Augustus, who is the patron of Book 4 (in which Maecenas does not appear), just as Augustus is the patron of the *Aeneid* and of Horace *Odes* 4. Nevertheless Etruscan interest is a fairly major element in Book 4. This shows that Propertius had a continuing concern for things Etruscan, and it hints that his relationship with Maecenas still remained significant; we know that this was the case with Horace too after Augustus had become his main patron. Maecenas could also have continued to be a source or channel for Propertius of information about things Etruscan.

- 96 Sullivan (1976, 17–34); Stahl (1985, 248–64); Miller (2004, 184–209). *Contra* Cairns (2006, 356).
- 97 Hutchinson (2006, 64) considers that this refers to the actions of Romulus and refers to Cornell (1995, 114ff) who discusses Romulus’ institution of the senate and *comitia curiata*.
- 98 Hutchinson (2006, 67) mentions Fidenae, eight kilometres away, Gabii, seventeen kilometres, and Alba Longa, eighteen.
- 99 For example, see Verg. *Ecl.* 4.
- 100 *RG* 19; Cass. Dio 51.22. The Curia Julia was inaugurated by Octavian in 29 BC to replace the one (originally the Curia Hostilia) burnt down at the time of the murder of Clodius and rebuilt by Sulla’s son. Coarelli in *LTUR* 1.331–2.
- 101 Dedicated in 13 BC (Cass. Dio 54.26) or ‘completed and dedicated’ 13–11 BC (Ward-Perkins (1981, 26). Sear (1998) 23 and 53 favours 13. *Contra* Plin. *HN* 8.25 states that it was dedicated on 7 May 11 BC. It is thought that the theatre was used before its dedication. Ciancio Rossetto in *LTUR* 5.31–35.
- 102 The mention of Aeneas indirectly acknowledges his patron Augustus and the Julian family’s claim of descent from the Trojan. It also suggests Propertius’ familiarity with the recently published *Aeneid*, as does the mention of Evander in line 4.
- 103 Debroun (2003, 102).
- 104 Hutchinson (2006, 72) argues that *patria* in line 60 is Rome, but the juxtaposition of *Umbria Romani* in line 64 and the repetition of *Umbria* in lines 63–4 shows that it was possible for citizens born elsewhere than Rome to have *duae*

- patriae* as Cicero writes in *Leg.* 2.1–6. This chapter has suggested that in 1.22 Propertius has asserted that his homeland is Umbria/Etruria.
- 105 Debrohun (2003, 103–4).
- 106 Hutchinson (2006, 73) suggests that the citadels in lines 65–6 may in fact refer to the hilltop towns of Etruria rather than to the buildings on the hills of Rome.
- 107 For example Verg. *Ecl.* 4.
- 108 *RG* 19; Vell. Pat. 2.81.3; Suet. *Aug.* 29.3; Cass. Dio 53.1. Octavian had vowed the temple to Apollo after his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus, but the dedication did not take place until 28 BC, three years after Actium, a victory also ascribed by Augustus to the favour of Apollo. See Butler and Barber (1933, 358). Gros in *LTUR* 1.54–57.
- 109 Hutchinson (2006, 74) makes the point that ‘*vates* (75) in Augustan poetry plays constantly on the relation of poet, prophet and truth’.
- 110 Hutchinson (2006, 77).
- 111 Frothingham (1909).
- 112 Pallottino (1955, 162 ff).
- 113 Hutchinson (2006, 83) explains that these were Octavian’s appropriation of land for his veterans in 41 BC.
- 114 Hutchinson (2006, 83) writes: ‘Between about fourteen and seventeen, usually at the father’s direction, boys dedicated their locket, the father’s gift, to the Lares, and assumed the *toga libera* or *pura*, conventionally at the Liberalia (17 March).’ ‘*bullae*’: Binder in *NP* (2002, 1, 334).
- 115 Murgatroyd (1975, 59) writes

Of greater interest and importance is the way in which Tibullus and Propertius incorporate love’s warfare within their overall philosophy concerning real warfare. Both poets object to war on moral grounds and both hold up love as the alternative of their choice, using *militia amoris* to express this antithesis as a contrast between two types of warfare.

(76)

He concludes

It (the use of *militia amoris*) reached the peak of its development in the hands of the Roman elegists, who raised it above the level of a mere conceit and give it a position of real importance in their poetry by using it in the expression of their attitude to war and of their views on the nature of love and the natural role of the lover.

(79)

- 116 Butler (Loeb 1912, 275) suggests ‘the allusion is to Cynthia’s avarice’. Goold (Loeb 1990, 321) admits: ‘Technically “Beware when the Moon is in Cancer”, but the injunction is simply a factitious piece of astrological hocus-pocus for an explanation of which we shall look in vain’. Lee (1994, 185) writes: ‘i.e. “the only thing you need fear is the sign of the Crab.” The point is lost on us’.
- Hutchinson (2006, 86), citing Heph. *Apol.* 3.9.8, suggests that the whole of the period under the sign of Cancer is unlucky for marriage.
- 117 Some might argue that, as Propertius only mentions Augustus once by his title ‘Caesar’ (4.1.46), it is hardly praise. Yet the mention of his title makes clear that he is referring to the current age and the achievements of Augustus in stabilising and reinvigorating Rome. These are aetiological poems after all.
- 118 *RG* 19.1; Gros *LTUR* 1.54–57.

- 119 Griffin (2005, 317).
 120 Propertius only mentions Antony by name once (3.9.56), where he refers to his suicide. This is very much in line with what seems to be acceptable Augustan policy. Virgil mentions him only once in *Aeneid* 8.685 at the beginning of his description of the Battle of Actium. Horace avoids mentioning him in *Odes* 1.37, which deals with Actium. Augustus does not mention him by name in the *Res Gestae*. The author of the *Elegiae in Maecenatem* (Augustus has been suggested as the author) avoids naming him too.
 121 Postgate (1935, 212). See also Tremenheere (1931, 514) and Camps (1965, 107).
 122 Line 56 literally translates as 'next after the bows was the spear of Caesar'. Propertius has used the plural *arcus*, although Apollo has only one bow. Likewise he has used the singular *hasta* rather than the plural *hastae*, because he needs a short syllable in that position of a pentameter. It is possible, but unlikely, that Octavian, as commander of a ship, threw a spear. It is more likely that Propertius intends us to read *hasta* as a singular for a plural and to envisage Octavian's men following up with their javelins the arrows of Apollo. The volley of javelins was the usual commencement of a Roman battle before the legionaries came to close quarters and used their swords, or in a naval battle to try to clear the enemy decks of combatants. Butler and Barber (1933) make no comment on this use of the singular nor does Hutchinson (2006).
 123 Syme (1939, 461):

The War of Actium was shown to be a contest not so much against Greece as against Egypt and the East. The contest was perpetuated under the Principate by the Augustan reaction from contemporary Hellenism and from the Alexandrian models of the previous age, by the return to earlier and classic exemplars of the great age of Greece.

- 124 Williams (1962, 43).
 125 Hallett (1971, 107).
 126 Sweet (1972, 171ff).
 127 Johnson (1973, 160), following Sullivan (1966, 19).
 128 Connor (1978, 3–4).
 129 Woodman and West (1984, viii).
 130 Cairns (1984, 129–68).
 131 Although Book 4 was probably not published until about 16 BC, 4.6 may have been written for any celebration of the inauguration of the temple of Palatine Apollo on 9 October 28 BC. Zanker (1990, 48–53) discusses the importance of Apollo to Augustus, who ascribed victory over Sextus Pompey, victory at Actium and 'victory over the Parthians and for the social legislation of 18 BC.' to him, but he offers no evidence.
 132 Cairns (1984, 132–3) quoting Paladini (1958, 240–69) 'arguing that Propertius may be seen as characteristic of the influence of Hellenistic poetry on Augustan poets rather than eccentric', and Pillinger (1969, 189–99): 'Roman poetry written in imitation of Hellenistic models'.
 133 Cairns (1984, 164).
 134 Richardson (2012, 102–3). This view is similar to that of Levick (2010, 236), although she mistakenly claims that Augustus sent Tiberius to crown a puppet king in Armenia, based perhaps on the view of Syme (1939, 388). Syme cites Vell. Pat. 2.94.4, Suet. *Tib.* 9.1, Cass. Dio 54.9.4.
 135 We should bear in mind that Cairns' paper is one of a collection put together by Woodman and West (1984) with a specific purpose in mind. This purpose is well summarised in their introduction (viii) when they write:

we as editors have again tried to summarise the issues in an epilogue. In the 1960s there was a swing towards the iconoclastic, and sometimes cynical, view of the interaction of poetry and politics. We naturally believe that the views presented in this volume are less simple-minded and nearer the truth, but in any event the quality of the poetry constitutes some sort of testimonial for the political forces under which the poets worked.

- 136 Stahl (1985, 261).
- 137 Woodman and West (1984, 189).
- 138 Sullivan (1976, 40).
- 139 Stahl (1985, 252).
- 140 Cairns (2006, 356).
- 141 Keith (2008, 141).
- 142 Keith (2008, 165).
- 143 Hutchinson (2006, 1).
- 144 Hutchinson (2006, 5–6).
- 145 For example Lee (1994, 38).
- 146 OLD (2012, 1065) under the twelfth heading for *magnus* states ‘(of persons, people, states etc.) Great in reputation or authority, eminent, powerful, exalted’ with examples from Ennius, Cicero, Horace, Pliny and Juvenal. On p. 857 under the meanings of *in* governing the ablative it gives ‘30 (indicating a group sharing an attitude, activity etc.) Among’ with examples from Cicero, Caesar and Livy, and ‘31 (expressing classification) in the number of, among’ with examples from Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Virgil, Ovid and Pliny.
- 147 See above p. 190 and 205 n. 134.
- 148 RG 26.5. See Ridley (2003, 304–5) for a clear description of the dishonesty of these claims. Cooley (2009, 227) puts forward the same opinion.
- 149 RG 31.1. Cooley (2009, 249–50) considers that Augustus, by including India, is trying to project himself as the equal of Alexander the Great. She admits, however, that there is evidence of at least two such embassies and of trade from India.
- 150 See, for example, Charlesworth (1924, Chapters 4 and 6).
- 151 Syme (1939, 467 citing elegies 3.11, 4.6, 2.10 and 3.4).
- 152 Plin. *Ep.* 8.8.
- 153 He mentions Clitumnus as Umbrian in 3.22.23.
- 154 Goold (1990, 136). See also Tremmenheere (1931), but Butler and Barber (1933), Barber (1953) and McCulloch (1972) have *Etrusca*.
- 155 Cairns (2006, 280).
- 156 Coarelli in *LTUR* 3.135–36.
- 157 Scullard and Cornell in *OCD* (2012, 377) and Treves and Cornell 1394, Ridley (2005, 74).
- 158 An Etruscan god, probably Voltumna, whose statue stood in the *Vicus Tuscus* at the foot of the Palatine. Pliny *HN* 34.16.34 describes how two thousand bronze statues were brought to Rome following the capture of Volsinii in 264 BC. The statue may have been one of these. The god is also called Vortumnus (Varro *Ling.* 5.46) and is thought to have been the god by whom Etruscan cities swore their agreements. Aigner-Forsti in *NP* (2010, 15, 326–7).
- 159 Papi in *LTUR* 5.195–197. Another tradition dated the *vicus* to Porsenna (Livy 2.14.9).
- 160 Sullivan (1976, 41).
- 161 This seems to me to be not dissimilar to the experience of many Australians, who, although they have become Australian citizens, retain a deep bond to their place of origin, and still have dual citizenship.
- 162 See above p. 191–2.

163 Goldsworthy (2014, 309).

164 Roman (2014, 167).

165 Margaret Hubbard (1974, 93–4) summarises the Augustan poets on peace:

Virgil and Horace might have come to believe that the Augustan *regime* was some guarantee of peace, though even here we should be careful of an easy assent; the end of the first book of the *Georgics*, read to the *princeps* in 29 B.C., shows how tenuous Virgil's hopes long were and how tardily his comfort came if it did come, while Horace reconciles his longing for civil peace with patriotic suasions to chastise foreign enemies. Propertius' enthusiasms were less divided; he saw little merit in turning on the Parthians the weapons that Rome's citizens had ceased to turn on each other, and in echoing Horace's commendations of the simple life he also took pains to point out that the desire for military conquest sprang precisely from discontent with the simple life.

Conclusion

This book has focussed on Maecenas, an Etruscan of noble lineage and member of the Roman equestrian class, who was one of the three most important people in Augustan Rome. Because of the importance of the role he played as a patron of poets, the book has considered the work of the three major surviving poets of his circle, Virgil, Horace and Propertius. Throughout, the book has been cautious and has tried to reach conclusions which can be supported by evidence in the primary sources. It has consistently tested the views expressed by scholars by asking what evidence they have produced from primary sources to support their arguments.

It is so fortunate that the works of these three outstanding poets have survived the centuries in their entirety.¹ They were part of the group of about a dozen poets under the patronage of Maecenas. Little is known about the rest of his circle except Varius, one of the first to come under Maecenas' wing. Sadly, only a few fragments of his poetry survive, but references from other ancient sources, such as Quintilian, Tacitus and Martial, make clear that he was respected as a writer of both epic and tragedy. We should be especially grateful for his role, together with Tucca, in saving the *Aeneid* and preparing it for publication. All this lack of information is frustrating, but at least the surviving three give us a picture of the outstanding quality of Maecenas' circle and the range of literature which it covered. Maecenas was, of course, not the only such patron, and there were other poets of note from this period, such as Tibullus and Ovid. Yet, his circle produced Virgil, the master of the hexameter and an epic poet par excellence, Horace, Rome's first and greatest lyric poet, but with the ability to use other metres in other genres, and Propertius, a master of love elegy. These three, together with Tibullus and Ovid, are, perhaps, only the tip of the iceberg in terms of the literary production during the Augustan Age, Rome's golden literary age.

There are similarities in the lives and experiences of Virgil, Horace and Propertius, but there are also distinctions to be made. The families of all three poets lost property during the Civil Wars. Virgil's family soon recovered theirs, thanks to the intervention of Maecenas and Augustus, and it seems likely that some or all the property of Propertius' family was also returned. The property of Horace's family was lost forever, and Horace's

family members almost certainly lost their lives. Horace himself had been on the wrong side at Philippi. Yet, just as he was pardoned and forgiven by Augustus, he, too, was prepared to forgive and to throw his weight behind the new regime. He seems to have been intelligent enough to realise that the Civil Wars had come to an end and the new regime promised a period of peace. Virgil kept himself to himself but was prepared to compose the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* in response to requests from Maecenas and Augustus, without throwing all his weight behind the new regime. Forgiveness does not seem to have featured in Propertius' mentality. Although some of his elegies can be read as praise for Augustus' achievements, his reluctance to refer to events of the Civil Wars seems to stem from an inability to forgive and a wish not to be reminded of the terrible events at Perusia.²

Virgil seemed to be a Roman at heart, although he preferred to live on the Bay of Naples. Horace, too, seemed to be content to be a Roman, although he preferred the quieter life of his Sabine farm to the hustle and bustle of Rome itself. Propertius, although content to live in Rome and to enjoy the pleasures which the city offered, could not free himself from his Umbrian/Etruscan origins.³

Much has been written by scholars on the question of *recusatio* and the extent to which these three were under pressure to co-operate with the regime and gave in to this pressure. It is clear that Maecenas encouraged his poets to write poetry which was favourable to the new regime. Yet, this book has argued that each of the three poets responded in defence of their poetic independence and that Maecenas, when faced with their responses, did not force the issue, nor did Augustus. In effect, both Maecenas and Augustus seem to have been satisfied with the limited response of the poets. They were very like the mediaeval princes who were happy to bask in the reflected glory of the art and architecture of their protégés.

Although it is clear that both Horace and Propertius can be said to have written a *recusatio*, this book has argued that such poems were not a rejection of the regime as some have claimed. Horace, in *Epistles* 1.1, expresses to Maecenas an unwillingness to compose more lyric poetry, as he wanted to explore new directions. This is not an example of opposing the regime. In fact, he turns to more Roman matters in the *Carmina*, which seem to support the ideology of the new regime and praise the peace which has followed the Civil Wars. He is a very important source for information about contemporary events, the people of his time and the lifestyle of the Romans. He responds to Augustus himself in a positive way by accepting his invitation to write the *Carmen Saeculare*, an honour which would surely not have been bestowed on him, if he was critical of the regime, and in composing the fourth book of *Carmina*, in response to Augustus' request for poems to honour the achievements of Tiberius and Drusus. He does, of course, in *Carmina* 2.12, claim that his poetry is not suitable for describing Augustus' military exploits, for which he considers a prose writer to be more suited. Such a declaration is not necessarily a rejection of the regime, but an admission that his forms of poetry are not appropriate for the

task. The chapter on Horace has conceded that he is not Etruscan and shows no Etruscan element in his poetry. He did, however, become the soul-mate of Maecenas, a very important Etruscan of the Augustan Age. Their acquaintance began in 38 BC and grew into one of the more remarkable friendships of the period, one which lasted until their deaths a short while apart in 8 BC. Horace's poetry is important to this book for the biographical information which it provides for Maecenas, especially for the frankness with which Horace discusses their friendship. Although Horace had more reason to be against the Augustan regime, because he had fought for Brutus at Philippi, and had lost his family property to veteran settlements and his family during this period, he was pragmatic, realised the benefits that the end of the Civil Wars had brought, and became an enthusiastic supporter of the Augustan regime. He became one of the closest friends of Augustus himself. Yet, he too was able to maintain a degree of independence in his choice of topics for his poetry.

Propertius proved to be the most difficult to assess, because views of scholars on his response to the Augustan regime are so diametrically opposed. The chapter argued that, although Propertius stresses his Umbrian heritage from Asisium, it is reasonable to consider him to be Umbrian/Etruscan, because there were Etruscan influences on the area round Asisium, and Propertius had strong family links to important Etruscans from the area around Perusia. Propertius came under the patronage of Maecenas after Actium, much later than Virgil and Horace. It is argued that neither of the extreme views put forward by scholars is the correct one, and that such discourse may well have been a storm in a teacup. Propertius, who was younger than Virgil and Horace during the events of the Civil Wars, was traumatised by the events of the Perusine War, as he was a teenager at the time. This meant that he was reluctant to refer to any events of the Civil Wars because of the memories which they evoked. This made him more reluctant than Virgil and Horace to write poetry for the regime. He did do so finally in Book 4, at a time when he was probably under the direct patronage of Augustus himself. The fact that he regarded himself as a foremost proponent of love poetry made writing panegyric poetry even more difficult for him. While it is true that Propertius can be seen to be more obviously hostile to the idea of using his poetry to praise the regime, it seems much more probable that he, like Horace, is expressing a plea for poetic independence so that he can continue to write the poetry at which he knows he excels and in which there is still much to explore of the relationship with Cynthia. This book has argued that it was the way in which Propertius was scarred by and had terrible memories of the events of the Perusine War which prevented him from dwelling on the events of the Civil Wars. Yet, after he had exhausted the relationship with Cynthia and when he had come under the direct patronage of Augustus, he did give in to demands for poetry to support the regime, but did so in a fiercely independent way. In 4.1 and 4.6 there is enough praise to satisfy Augustus, but he solved his own difficulty in praising Augustus' achievements and contemporary Rome by adopting the aetiological approach,

where the focus is on myths, history and the origins of rituals. There are Etruscan elements in his poetry, such as the poem on Vertumnus (4.2), but it is difficult to see a major Etruscan element in his poetry. He himself, however, remained a proud Umbrian/Etruscan, who considered this to be his *patria* rather than Rome. As such he was part of the Etruscan presence in Rome during the Augustan Age.

The chapter on Virgil has shown that he was of Etruscan lineage and a close friend of his Etruscan born patron Maecenas and of the emperor Augustus. He is part of a significant Etruscan presence in Augustan Rome. The chapter has argued that Virgil wanted to rival Homer as a Roman writer of epic poetry, but had to think very carefully about the topic of his epic because of the expectation that it would praise Augustus. In the end he came up with the perfect solution, as his choice of Aeneas as his hero allowed him to link his epic to the Homeric ones, while at the same time honouring Augustus through the claimed link of the Julian family to Aeneas and Venus. Virgil does not specifically write a *recusatio*, but it could be argued that the *Aeneid* itself is his *recusatio*, as it is not a poem in praise of Augustus and his achievements. Clearly Virgil would not write a long poem in honour of Augustus, as other poets under patronage had done for their patrons in the past. He wanted to write an epic to rival Homer, but a Roman one. The chapter has argued that there was an established interest in the story of the escape of Aeneas and his family from Troy in southern Etruria in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The chapter considered various suggestions about the origins of the Etruscans and possible links to migration to and from the area around Troy. Although some of the arguments are persuasive for such links, the jury is still out; further research, especially in the area of DNA, may provide a definitive answer. The chapter does argue, however, that Virgil seems to have been aware of this possible Etruscan link to the story of Aeneas through his incorporation of the story of Dardanus in the second half of the *Aeneid*. It suggests that this Etruscan story may have been known to both Virgil and Maecenas with their Etruscan backgrounds. It argues that it is, therefore, more likely that the idea of Aeneas coming to Italy came to Rome from Etruria than that it came through Lavinium in Latium. The chapter argued that there is a clear Etruscan element in the *Aeneid*, as the Etruscans join with Aeneas to defeat the Rutulians and the Latins, who included among their number the evil Etruscan Mezentius, who had been exiled by other Etruscans for his tyrannical and monstrous behaviour. Although Virgil uses the example of Mezentius much as Livy uses Tarquinius Superbus, his portrayal of the Etruscans is positive. The chapter suggests that Maecenas may have been an influence upon Virgil in his choice for hero for the *Aeneid* and for the way in which he portrays the Etruscans. Although Virgil bowed to the influence of Maecenas and Augustus in writing the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, he maintained independence by the way in which he wrote these two works. In his epic there was enough praise of Rome and its values in Jupiter's prophecy (Book 1), the meeting of Aeneas with Anchises in the underworld

(Book 6) and the Jupiter/Juno scene (Book 12). The ecphrasis of the shield in Book 8 with its description of the victory of Augustus at Actium is praise indeed. His choice of *pietas* as the defining characteristic of his hero must have sat well with Augustus, who was awarded the *clupeus virtutis* in 27 BC, on which *pietas* was one of the qualities ascribed to the emperor. The concentration of the black armband brigade on the perceived criticism of empire in the events of Book 4, the Ivory Gates at the end of Book 6 and the sudden, troubling end to the epic in Book 12 has detracted from the greatness of this Roman epic. Virgil seems to hate war, shows its brutality and the senseless waste of young lives it causes. He shows, too, how war can be caused by such a minor incident as the killing of the pet deer in Book 7, much as World War 1 resulted from an assassination in Sarajevo. It is a pity that the critics do not give more credit to his skill as a storyteller, one who creates vivid pictures with his use of words, believable characters, and heartless gods in an epic which honours Rome and Roman values.

Once Virgil had embarked on his epic, there was no need of another, just poetry sympathetic to the regime. It is ridiculous to consider that Maecenas or Augustus lined up the poets and demanded an epic from each of them in turn. More recently scholars have taken a more balanced view. Griffin (2005) points out that all the poets wrote that they were under pressure to produce panegyric poetry and that, although it is reasonable to assume that Augustus expected it of them, finally he had to concede that this would not be the case.⁴ Goldsworthy (2014), in an excellent and sensible summary of the poets in Maecenas' circle, argues that their work is not propaganda, nor was the content dictated by Maecenas or Augustus. He also argues that to look for subversion in their work is misguided.⁵

This book has argued that each of the poets appreciated the fact that the Civil Wars had come to an end. They all refer to the conclusive battle at Actium. Virgil gives the most comprehensive picture of the battle in the *ecphrasis* of the shield in Book 8. 671–728. Horace is willing to acknowledge the positive effects of Augustus' victory in bringing an end to the Civil Wars, and as such is prepared to acknowledge the victory at Actium (for example in *Carm.* 1.37), but avoids engaging with other events of the wars. Propertius does not want to be reminded of what happened to him and his family in the Civil Wars. When, therefore, he finally addresses the battle of Actium in 4.6, he prefers to make it a triumph in a foreign war achieved with the help of Apollo. The poets do not relish the thoughts of Roman fighting Roman, but are prepared to engage with the idea of Roman military expansion, although Propertius seems reluctant even here, as he is a poet of love. They were poets of peace, not war. Although Virgil's *Aeneid* is an epic about a hero and war (*arma virumque cano*) and there is plenty of gruesome violence in the epic, we should remember that Virgil was attempting to emulate Homer, whose *Iliad* is focussed on war, while still acknowledging the fact that Augustus

had brought the civil wars to an end.⁶ The poets' real interests were love, beauty, nature, and human behaviour and frailties.

A considerable portion of this book has been devoted to discussion of these three great poets, because one of the most significant contributions of Maecenas to the Augustan Age was his patronage of a group of poets. It is almost certain that all three lived close to Maecenas on the Esquiline at various times, probably in housing which Maecenas provided. The patronage of Maecenas of his poets was a little different from the normal patronage of wealthy citizens in Rome, but it ensured that each had a living without the need to work, so that they could concentrate on using their poetic skills. Clearly the three poets were grateful for what he did for them, which is most clear in the biographic poems of Horace. Horace acknowledges, most of all, how important the gift of the Sabine farm was for his ability to develop as a poet. This book has emphasised the remarkable friendship, which developed between them over time. Although Virgil keeps his feelings to himself, he acknowledges Maecenas in each of the four books of the *Georgics* and, this book has suggested, in the first simile in Book 1 of the *Aeneid*. The prickly Propertius, too, acknowledges his debt to Maecenas and in 3.9 states that he has tried to model his life on that of his patron. We, too, the beneficiaries of their poetic output, should be extremely grateful for the fact that Maecenas chose them, supported them, nurtured them, encouraged them, cajoled them, but, when they insisted on their poetic independence, conceded and let them have free rein.

What of their relationships with Augustus himself? There is no written evidence to inform us of the relationship of Propertius with Augustus. It is argued, however, that he came under the direct patronage of Augustus before he composed his fourth book of *Elegies*. If this is the case, we can assume that he met with Augustus quite often and probably recited his poems to him. For Virgil the evidence is scant, yet sufficient. Suetonius tells us that he read the *Georgics* to Augustus over four days shortly after Actium and that he read Books 1, 4 and 6 of the *Aeneid* to him. Suetonius includes the effect of Virgil's description of the death of Marcellus on Octavia. Suetonius also tells us that, when he went to Greece in 19 BC to revise the *Aeneid*, he met Augustus and decided to accompany him back to Rome. This decision proved fatal, as Virgil contracted a fever and died. In his will Virgil left a quarter of his estate to Augustus. There was clearly a close relationship, but, as Virgil, lived for the most part on the Bay of Naples, he is unlikely to have had frequent meetings with the emperor. Although Horace's first meeting with the future emperor was to beg for pardon for having backed the wrong side at Philippi, he became a very close friend. Suetonius makes clear the closeness of that friendship. When Augustus offered him the position of secretary and he declined in favour of continuing to write poetry, Augustus took the refusal in good heart. Augustus told him that he was always welcome to make himself at home in his house whenever he wanted. Augustus paid him the honour of asking him to write the *Carmen Saeculare*. On his deathbed

Maecenas begged Augustus to remember Horace just as Augustus has remembered him. Death, however, intervened all too soon. Horace made Augustus his heir. The relationship between Horace and Augustus seems to have been as close as that between Horace and Maecenas.

The dispossession of lands suffered by all three poets could well have made them strident critics of the new Augustan regime. The fact that they were not may well be attributable to their membership of Maecenas' group and the influence which he had upon them. Although all three are not free from criticism of the regime, such criticism is minimal and that may well be the result of the influence which Maecenas brought to bear. A common feature of all three is a reluctance, however, to praise the achievements of Octavian/Augustus in the Civil Wars. This reluctance is displayed in different ways. Yet, all three, each in his own way and to differing degrees, engaged with the Augustan regime and were prepared to endorse the regime and praise the achievements of Augustus from the time that he became Rome's ruler.

All three poets flourished under the freedom to compose which Maecenas guaranteed. Virgil, with an Etruscan background, seems to adopt an Etruscan version of the story of Aeneas and introduces an Etruscan element to the second half of the *Aeneid*, although he seems to be a committed Roman. Propertius, of Umbrian/Etruscan background, in spite of being considered the most Etruscan of the three by Cairns, does not, this book argues, demonstrate a particular Etruscan element in his poetry, but does remain a committed Umbrian/Etruscan at heart, even though he lives his life happily in Rome (and probably Baiae). Horace has no Etruscan background and displays no Etruscan element in his poetry, yet becomes the closest friend of the Etruscan Maecenas and seems happy to condone his Etruscan way of life. Although Horace has strong memories of his background in Venusia, he becomes a whole-hearted Roman, even if preferring to live outside Rome on his Sabine farm, which must have reminded him of his upbringing.

It is Maecenas himself, however, who is the focus of the book. The aim of the first chapter of the book has been to produce, from a consideration of all available primary sources, which are contained in Appendix A, what it argues is an accurate and defensible picture of Maecenas and his role in the Augustan Age. One significant suggestion has been made concerning two of the primary texts, the two anonymous *Elegiae in Maecenatem*, that the author is none other than Augustus himself. If this suggestion holds water, it means that these two elegies should be viewed in a different light, because, if Augustus is the author, one would expect the information contained in them to be accurate. Contemporary primary sources are generally complimentary towards Maecenas, even if they point to some of his mannerisms and foibles, while some of the later sources, most notably the younger Seneca, find fault with Maecenas. The chapter has argued that the contemporary sources should be considered more reliable, and has argued that there may be reasons why Seneca is so critical of Maecenas. It has been shown that many modern scholars have been more influenced in what they have written by the negative

primary sources, especially Seneca. Several scholars have drawn a picture of Maecenas which cannot be sustained by evidence from the primary sources. In fact, on several occasions, these negative views have been produced without any supporting evidence or through a misunderstanding of the primary evidence. The chapter has pointed out these facts and tried to right the balance. It has also acknowledged that there have been some more balanced and more positive portrayals of Maecenas, most notably the biographies of Avallone (1962) in Italian and Le Doze (2014) and Chillet (2016) in French.

It is to be expected that Augustus is the focus of so much commentary on this pivotal moment in Rome's history, when government changed from Republic to Principate. Agrippa, too, is given fair consideration, because of his importance in winning military victories for Augustus and because he became, by marriage, part of the imperial family. Maecenas, the third member of this important triumvirate, is often given scant treatment, in spite of the significant contribution which he made in Augustus' rise to power, the establishment and maintenance of the principate, and the establishment of a group of outstanding poets, whom he supported financially.

We can safely argue that Maecenas was an Etruscan of noble lineage and a member of the equestrian class, a status which he was happy to keep for his whole life, as he was unambitious. His ambitions were focussed elsewhere: on the success of his close friend Octavian/Augustus, on the establishment of peace after the long Civil Wars, and the success of the poets in his circle. He was very wealthy, but used his wealth to the advantage of others, as for example when he transformed the Esquiline into gardens which all Romans could enjoy, and as a very generous supporter of a group of poets. He himself was an aspiring writer, but there are only fragments surviving of his work by which to judge his ability, unless the argument of this book that he composed the *Consolatio ad Liviam* is accepted. When required, he fought bravely in battles on behalf of Octavian. He was an outstanding negotiator and seems to have been trusted by both sides to bring about a settlement. Together with Agrippa he worked tirelessly to ensure that Octavian became ruler of Rome and that the destructive Civil Wars came to an end. He was an efficient administrator on behalf of Octavian, even if he seemed to perform his role in the background. The fact that no historian records serious loss of life in Rome during those periods of administration suggests that he was able to solve situations by force of his personality alone. This, in turn, suggests that he was respected and admired by the Roman people. His loyalty towards Octavian/Augustus was unwavering and crucial to his success. While some have argued that he may have fallen from favour as a result of the conspiracy of Caepio, the biographical chapter has argued that this was not the case, but that he remained a close friend of Augustus for the rest of his life, even if he chose to live life in retirement. His lifestyle, extravagance and foibles did raise eyebrows among his contemporaries and were seized upon by some later writers as evidence of poor character, but the first anonymous *Elegy* asks whether they ever did anyone any harm. His difficult relationship with his

wife Terentia seems to have lasted until his death. At least he was not forced to abandon his wife and marry another like Agrippa, who put his political career ahead of personal relationships. Although he was energetic and showed great stamina for much of his life, he does seem to have suffered poor health in his later years. He and Horace were the closest of friends, a friendship which began when Horace was introduced to Maecenas in 38 BC and grew and flourished until their deaths only months apart in 8 BC.

Maecenas was clearly proud of his Etruscan origins, although he committed himself to Rome and the Augustan cause. In this respect he was unlike Agrippa, who did all that he could to distance himself from his Etruscan origins. There is evidence that Maecenas' Etruscan background remained with him and was to be seen in his lifestyle. In spite of this Etruscan background, he threw all his expertise and energy into establishing Octavian as ruler of Rome as its first emperor. He saw Octavian as the one person who could restore peace to Rome and Italy after nearly a century of civil wars and bloodshed. He was part of an Etruscan presence in Rome, which Hall has argued, was more significant than some commentators have allowed. Augustus seems to have surrounded himself with a group of supporters, many of whom had Etruscan backgrounds. Some of Maecenas' habits seem to reflect an Etruscan rather than a Roman way of life. As he was clearly a man of letters, it is very likely that he took an interest in the history of the Etruscans and their mythological past. He may well have been aware of the place of Aeneas in that mythology. Maecenas, an aspiring poet himself, gathered together a group of poets in a move that produced a flourishing of Roman poetry. It is one of the greatest examples of literary patronage. Of those poets, the three significant surviving examples, Virgil, Horace and Propertius, clearly benefited from his support and patronage. This book has argued that Maecenas probably asked his poets to produce poetry of a particular nature, but that, when they refused or acceded in their own individual way, he readily accepted the fact. He was patron, but not a controlling force. When the right moment came, he retired to the background and the poets passed into the direct patronage of Augustus himself.

Maecenas and these three poets do represent an Etruscan presence in Rome during the Augustan Age. Maecenas is one of the most significant presences of that age and deserves better acknowledgment and treatment than many commentators are prepared to give him. This book has used the primary sources to prove that this is the case, especially by showing how many scholars have made claims for which there is no supporting evidence. Maecenas deserves greater recognition because he is such a different figure from those of the second half of the first century BC about whom so much has been written. Most of those men made their reputation in war. Although Maecenas readily fought for Octavian when required, his strengths were the ability to negotiate, often for peace rather than war, his fearlessness in offering advice in the best interests not just of Octavian/Augustus, but also of Rome, his administrative skills, often in very difficult situations, where he

seems to have avoided unnecessary bloodshed, and his ability to gather round him a very talented group of poets, who supported the regime each in his own way, even if a little reluctantly, and were responsible for one of the great literary ages of history. He was a remarkably loyal friend and supporter of his poets, as is especially evidenced by the intimate, but open relationship between him and Horace, whom he treated with respect and as an equal, in spite of the difference in their backgrounds. Octavian/Augustus could not have asked for a better friend, as Maecenas devoted his life to the success of Octavian and the establishment and maintenance of the principate. Maecenas, for all his Etruscan background and habits, was truly an outstanding Roman.

Notes

- 1 It has to be admitted that there are problems of lacunae in the second book of Propertius' *Elegies*, which suggest that Book 2 is a conflation of two previous books. Nonetheless, the four surviving books provide a clear picture of his poetic skill.
- 2 Margaret Hubbard (1974, 93–4). See above p. 207 n. 165.
- 3 Griffin (2005, 314) comments, however, that: 'Propertius presented himself as the poet of private life par excellence, preferring to Rome the delights of Baiae, and living for Venus and Bacchus. Proper Romans called such a life by the unflattering term of *nequitia* (worthlessness)'.
- 4 Griffin (2005, 315–17) argues, among other things, that 'The suggestion is flattering to both parties, not least in the formulae of refusal of the poisoned chalice of large-scale encomium.' See also above pp. 71–72.
- 5 See above p. 72.
- 6 We should also bear in mind, perhaps, that the contemporary Roman audience may have viewed violence differently from us, as they were used to war and the violence of the arena.

Appendix A

Latin and Greek texts which mention Maecenas, together with translations

Greek and Latin texts referred to in the text, together with translations—the translations are my own. Any inaccuracies or infelicities are mine, and mine alone. The extracts are presented in chronological order from the earliest author to the latest. The translations are for the benefit of those who do not know Latin or Ancient Greek.

Extract 1: Virgil *Georgics* 1. 1–5.

*quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vites
conveniat, quae cura bouum, qui cultus habendo
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
hinc canere incipiam.*

What makes cornfields successful, under what star it is best to turn the soil, Maecenas, and to train the vines on elm trees, how to look after cattle and the practice needed for looking after flocks, and the knowledge needed to look after frugal bees—these are the sources of the poems which I now begin.

Extract 2: Virgil *Georgics* 2.39–46.

*tuque ades, inceptumque una decurre laborem,
o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.
non ego cuncta meis amplecti versibus opto,
non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea vox; ades et primi lege litoris oram;
in manibus terrae: non hic te carmine ficto
atque per ambages et longa exorsa tenebo.*

Be present, Maecenas, and join me in the task which I have begun. You are my source of pride, deservedly the person most responsible for my success. Raise your sails and fly across the open sea. I do not hope to include everything in my verses, no, not even if I had a hundred tongues, a hundred mouths and an

unyielding voice; be present and pass along the very edge of the shore; the land is within your reach: I shall not keep you here with a made-up poem, with circumlocution and a long preamble.

Extract 3: Virgil *Georgics* 3. 40–48.

*interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.
te sine nil altum mens incohat; en age segnes
rumpe moras; vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron
Taygetique canes domitrixque Epidaurus equorum
et vox adsensu nemorum ingeminata remugit. 45
mox tamen ardentes accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris, et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar.*

Meanwhile let us traverse the woods and undiscovered glades of the Dryads, a difficult task which you have imposed on me, Maecenas. Without your instigation my mind begins no lofty task; come now and break my idle delay; Cithaeron summons with a loud shout, so too do the hounds of Taygetus and Epidaurus, the tamer of horses, and the sound re-echoes with a roar of approval from the woods. Soon, however, I shall gird my loins to sing of the blazing battles fought by Caesar so that his name will be famous for as many years as his birth is separated from that of Tithonus.

Extract 4: Virgil *Georgics* 4. 1–7.

*protinus aerii mellis caelestia dona
exsequar. hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.
admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum,
magnanimosque duces totiusque ordine gentis
mores et studia et populos et proelia dicam. 5
in tenui labor; at teuis non gloria, si quem
numina laeva sinunt auditque vocatus Apollo.*

Next I come to the heavenly gift which falls from the sky—honey. Consider favourably this part of my work too, Maecenas. You must admire the way I tell of such insignificant creatures, their great leaders, the organization of their people, their habits, their pursuits, their peoples and their struggles—I shall tell it all. The task is on a trivial theme, but the fame will not be trivial, if the spirits are favourable and allow it, and Apollo himself hears my prayer when I call to him.

Extract 5: Horace *Satires* 1.1.

*qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa*

<i>contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?</i>	
<i>“o fortunati mercatores” gravis annis</i>	
<i>miles ait, multo iam fractus membra labore;</i>	5
<i>contra mercator navem iactantibus Austris:</i>	
<i>“militia est potior. quid enim? concurritur: horae</i>	
<i>momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.”</i>	
<i>agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,</i>	
<i>sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat;</i>	10
<i>ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,</i>	
<i>solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.</i>	
<i>cetera de genere hoc—adeo sunt multa—loquacem</i>	
<i>delassare valent Fabium. ne te morer, audi,</i>	
<i>quo rem deducam. si quis deus “en ego” dicat,</i>	15
<i>“iam faciam quod voltis: eris tu, qui modo miles,</i>	
<i>mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,</i>	
<i>vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. eia!</i>	
<i>quid statis?” nolint. atqui licet esse beatis.</i>	
<i>quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas</i>	20
<i>iratus buccas inflet neque se fore posthac</i>	
<i>tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?</i>	
<i>praeterea, ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens</i>	
<i>percurram: quamquam ridentem dicere verum</i>	
<i>quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi</i>	25
<i>doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima:</i>	
<i>sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:</i>	
<i>ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,</i>	
<i>perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne</i>	
<i>audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem</i>	30
<i>sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,</i>	
<i>aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut</i>	
<i>parvola, nam exemplo est, magni formica laboris</i>	
<i>ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo</i>	
<i>quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.</i>	35
<i>quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,</i>	
<i>non usquam prorepat et illis utitur ante</i>	
<i>quaesitis sapiens, cum te neque fervidus aestus</i>	
<i>demoveat lucro neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,</i>	
<i>nil obstat tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.</i>	40
<i>quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri</i>	
<i>furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?</i>	
<i>quod, si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem?</i>	
<i>at ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?</i>	
<i>milia frumenti tua triverit area centum:</i>	45
<i>non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut, si</i>	
<i>reticulum panis venalis inter onusto</i>	

<i>forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam qui nil portarit. vel dic quid referat intra naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an mille aret? “at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.”</i>	50
<i>dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquo, cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris? ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna vel cyatho, et dicas “magno de flumine mallem quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.” eo fit, plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto, cum ripa simul avolsos ferat Aufidus acer. at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo turbatam haurit aquam neque vitam amittit in undis.</i>	55
<i>at bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso “nil satis est”, inquit, “quia tanti quantum habeas sis”: quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces sic solitus: “populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.”</i>	60
<i>Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat flumina—quid rides? mutato nomine de te fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis. nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum? panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius; adde quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.</i>	65
<i>an vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque formidare malos fures, incendia, servos, ne te concipitent fugientes, hoc iuvat? horum semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum. “at si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus aut alius casus lecto te adflixit, habes qui adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te suscitet ac reddat gnatis carisque propinquis?”</i>	70
<i>non uxor saluum te vult, non filius; omnes vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae. miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas, si nemo praestet, quem non merearis, amorem? an si cognatos, nullo natura labore quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos, infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum in Campo doceat parentem currere frenis? denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,</i>	75
	80
	85
	90

<i>pauperiem metuas minus et finire laborem incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod Ummidius quidam; non longa est fabula: dives ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus, ut se non umquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus opprimeret, metuebat. at hunc liberta securi divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.</i>	95
<i>“quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius aut sic ut Nomentanus?” pergis pugnantia secum frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum cum veto te fieri, vappam iubeo ac nebulonem: est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli: est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum. illuc, unde abii, redeo, qui nemo, ut avarus, se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentis, quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber, tabescat neque se maiori pauperiorum turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret. sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat, ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus, instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.</i>	100
<i>inde fit, ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus. iam satis est. ne me Crispini scrinia lippi compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.</i>	105
	110
	115
	120

How does it happen, Maecenas, that no-one lives content with his lot in life, whether it is his own choice or what chance has thrown his way, but praises the different paths which others follow? “How lucky merchants are!” says the soldier who is weighed down with his years of service and whose body has been damaged by so much hard labour. On the other hand, the merchant, whose ship is being tossed about by the south wind, says “Military service is preferable. Why, you ask. Battle is joined: in a short while either swift death overtakes or joyous victory is achieved.” A man expert in law praises the farmer, when at cockcrow a customer knocks at his door seeking advice. That man, who has given surety and is dragged from the countryside into the city, shouts out that only those who live in the city are fortunate. Other examples like this are so numerous that they would even exhaust the chatterbox Fabius. So that I do not keep you long, listen to the conclusion which I have reached. If some god were to say

I am here. I shall do whatever you want. You who were a soldier just now will be a merchant. You who were just consulted as a lawyer will be a farmer. Change your roles and off you go. Come on! Why are you waiting?

They refuse. And yet they are being allowed to become happy. Is there any reason why an angry Jupiter should not puff out both his cheeks and say that he will not be so ready in future to lend an ear to their prayers?

Besides, so that I do not skim over the matter while laughing like someone who writes jokes (but what forbids a man to laugh while he speaks the truth?), as fawning teachers sometimes give small pastries to children, when they want them to learn basic principles, but putting joking aside, let us turn to serious matters. The man who turns the tough soil with his solid plough, this cheating inn-keeper, the soldier, the sailors who boldly sail all over the seas all say that they endure their toil with the intention of retiring as old men into the safety of leisure when they have stored away their provisions. They use the example of the tiny ant which drags in with its mouth the fruits of its labour and adds it to the heap which it is constructing, as it is well aware and mindful of the future. As soon as Aquarius saddens the turning of the year, it does not creep out anymore, but wisely uses what it has harvested before; as for you, neither burning heat, nor winter, nor fire, nor sea, nor war diverts you from gain—nothing stops you until there is no other man richer than you.

How can a great weight of silver and gold help you if you are frightened by it, dig a hole and bury it? But if you break it up, it would dwindle into a worthless *as*. But unless that is done, what beauty is there in the piled-up heap? Even if your threshing floor has produced a hundred thousand measures of grain, your stomach will still not hold more than mine; if among the slaves by chance you carry the heavy bag of bread on your shoulder, you will receive no more than the slave who carries nothing.

Or tell me this, does it matter to a man who lives within nature's bounds whether he ploughs a hundred or a thousand acres? "But it is a delight to be able to take something from so large a heap." As long as you allow us to draw the same amount from our little heap, why do you praise your granaries more than our small bin? It is as if you need no more clear water than a jar or cup and said "I would rather draw my water from a great river than from this small spring." So it happens that if anyone delights in abundance and more than is their right, the violent Aufidius sweeps them away, bank and all. But the man who craves only the small amount he needs does not draw water stirred up with mud nor loses his life in the flood.

But a good number of men, when deceived by false desire, say "You can never have enough, since a man is judged by what he has." What can you do for that man? Tell him to be miserable, since that is what he wants. He is like a rich, mean man in Athens, who used to ignore what others said "The people hiss at me, but I applaud myself at home as soon as I look at the money in my chest."

The thirsty Tantalus tries to catch the water which flees his lips—why do you laugh? If I changed the name, the same story could be told about you. You sleep with your mouth wide-open with bags of money piled up all round you, as if you are compelled to keep your hands off them as they are sacred or enjoy them as if they were painted pictures. Don't you know the value of money or how to use it? You can use it to buy bread, vegetables, and a measure of wine; add to this what would cause pain to humans, if denied them. Or you could stay awake all night half-dead with fear, and fear day and night that wicked thieves, fires and slaves will rob you and escape. Does this give you pleasure? I should always wish to be the poorest of men who have such blessings.

But if you are attacked by the cold and ache, or some other misfortune keeps you in bed, do you have someone to sit by you, to prepare poultices, to call the doctor to revive you and restore you to your dear children and relatives.

Your wife does not want you to get better, nor your son; all your neighbours hate you and those known to you, girls and boys. Do you wonder, when you put money first above all else, that no-one gives you the love which you have not earned? But if you wanted to keep the relatives, whom Nature gives you without trouble, and to keep your friends, would you unhappily be wasting your time as if someone was teaching an ass to run in the Campus obedient to the bit?

Finally, so that there can be an end to seeking more, when you have more, you may fear poverty less and begin to stop working hard, as you have achieved what you wanted, so that you do not do what a certain Ummidius did. It is not a long story: he was so rich that he measured his money, so mean that he never dressed better than a slave; right up to his last hour he feared that he would die in penury. But a freedwoman, the bravest of the Tyndarids, split him in half with an axe.

“What advice do you give me then? That I live like Naeuius or Nomentanus?” You continue to set opposites which fight with each other. When I tell you not to be a miser, I am not telling you to be a good-for-nothing or idler. There is some difference between Tanais and the father-in-law of Visellus. There is measure in all things, fixed bounds, in fact, beyond which and short of which right cannot take its place.

I return to my starting point, that no miser approves of himself, but rather praises the path chosen by others, that he pines away because someone else's goat has a fuller udder, that he does not compare himself with the majority of the poor, but toils to surpass first one then another. For someone who pursues this course there is always someone richer in the way, as when the hoofed horse, after the chariots have been released from the starting gates, presses on the chariots which lead its own, despises the one which it passes and cares not that it is left among the stragglers. So it rarely happens that we

can find a man who says that he has had a happy life and, as his life ends, concedes that he is content with his life like a satisfied guest.

That is enough. I shall not add one word more, so that you do not think that I have pillaged the book box of the bleary-eyed Crispinus.

Extract 6: Horace *Satires* 1.3.49–75

<i>parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur; ineptus</i>	
<i>et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis</i>	50
<i>postulat ut videatur; at est truculentior atque</i>	
<i>plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur;</i>	
<i>caldior est: acris inter numeretur. opinor,</i>	
<i>haec res et iungit iunctos et servat amicos.</i>	
<i>at nos virtutes ipsas invertimus atque</i>	55
<i>sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. probus quis</i>	
<i>nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo: illi</i>	
<i>tardo cognomen, pingui damus. hic fugit omnis</i>	
<i>insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,</i>	
<i>cum genus hoc inter vitae versemur, ubi acris</i>	60
<i>invidia atque vigent ubi crimina: pro bene sano</i>	
<i>ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.</i>	
<i>simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter</i>	
<i>obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem</i>	
<i>aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone: “molestus,</i>	65
<i>communi sensu plane caret” inquit. eheu,</i>	
<i>quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam.</i>	
<i>nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est,</i>	
<i>qui minimis urgetur. amicus dulcis, ut aequum est,</i>	
<i>cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce,</i>	70
<i>si modo plura mihi bona sunt, inclinet, amari</i>	
<i>si volet: hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.</i>	
<i>qui, ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum,</i>	
<i>postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius: aequum est</i>	
<i>peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.</i>	75

This man lives too sparingly: let him be called frugal; this is a little more absurd and boastful: he demands that his friends consider him elegant; but this one is thought to be grimmer and too frank: let him be thought to be frank and fearless; he is too fiery: let him be counted among those with spirit. As I see it, this is what creates friendships which last. But we turn virtues themselves upside down and are mad enough to want to soil a clean vase. If any honest and very humble man lives with us, we give him the nickname “Slow” or “Dull.” This man escapes all ambushes and never offers his unprotected flank to any criminal, since we live in this kind of world, where bitter envy and accusations flourish: we call him false and

cunning rather than very sensible and never off his guard. Is that man too frank, Maecenas, when he happens to interrupt you with a remark when you are reading or in silent contemplation? Just as I willingly admit that I have often interrupted you: “He is annoying and lacks social graces” we say. Alas, how rashly do we sanction an unjust law with which we can even harm ourselves. For no-one is born without fault; best is the man who is least troubled by them. When my dear friend, as is fair, weighs up my good qualities against my faults, he must decide in favour of my good qualities as outweighing my faults, if he wishes to be loved: let him be placed on the same scale under the same conditions. A man who demands that his own swellings do not offend his friend, will forgive him his blemishes. It is only fair that a man who demands forgiveness for his sins will forgive in turn those of the person from whom he demands this favour.

Extract 7: Horace *Satires* 1.5.

egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus: inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos 5
praeinctis unum: minus est gravis Appia tardis.
hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri.
indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo
exspectans comites. iam nox inducere terris
umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat. 10
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere: “huc appelle!” “trecentos inseris.” “ohe,
iam satis est.” dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam 15
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
certatim. tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem 20
sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat. quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympa.
milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus 25
impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur.
huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

<i>hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus</i>	30
<i>illinere. interea Maecenas advenit atque</i>	
<i>Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem</i>	
<i>factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.</i>	
<i>Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter</i>	
<i>linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,</i>	35
<i>praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.</i>	
<i>in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,</i>	
<i>Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.</i>	
<i>postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque</i>	
<i>Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque</i>	40
<i>occurrunt, animae qualis neque candidiores</i>	
<i>terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter.</i>	
<i>o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!</i>	
<i>nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.</i>	
<i>proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum</i>	45
<i>praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.</i>	
<i>hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.</i>	
<i>lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque:</i>	
<i>namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.</i>	
<i>hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,</i>	50
<i>quae super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis</i>	
<i>Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,</i>	
<i>Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque</i>	
<i>contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci;</i>	
<i>Sarmenti domina exstat; ab his maioribus orti;</i>	55
<i>ad pugnam venere. prior Sarmentus: "equi te</i>	
<i>esse feri similem dico." ridemus, et ipse</i>	
<i>Messius: "accipio," caput et movet. "o tua cornu</i>	
<i>ni foret exsecto frons," inquit, "quid faceres, cum</i>	
<i>sic mutilus minitaris?" at illi foeda cicatrix</i>	60
<i>saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.</i>	
<i>Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,</i>	
<i>pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:</i>	
<i>nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.</i>	
<i>multa Cicirrus ad haec: donasset iamne catenam</i>	65
<i>ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scribe quod esset,</i>	
<i>nilo deterius dominae ius esse; rogabat</i>	
<i>denique, cur unquam fugisset, cui satis una</i>	
<i>farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.</i>	
<i>prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.</i>	70
<i>tendimus hinc recta Beneventum; ubi sedulus hospes</i>	
<i>paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;</i>	
<i>nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam</i>	
<i>Volcano summum properabat lambere tectum.</i>	

<i>convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis</i>	75
<i>tum rapere atque omnis restinguere velle videres.</i>	
<i>incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos</i>	
<i>ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos</i>	
<i>numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici</i>	
<i>villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,</i>	80
<i>udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.</i>	
<i>hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam</i>	
<i>ad mediam noctem exspecto: somnus tamen aufert</i>	
<i>intentum veneri; tum immundo somnia visu</i>	
<i>nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum.</i>	85
<i>quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,</i>	
<i>mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,</i>	
<i>signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum</i>	
<i>hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra</i>	
<i>callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator.</i>	90
<i>nam Canusi lapidosus (aquae non ditior urna),</i>	
<i>qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim,</i>	
<i>flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.</i>	
<i>inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum</i>	
<i>carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.</i>	95
<i>postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque</i>	
<i>Bari moenia piscosi. dein Gnatia lymphis</i>	
<i>iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,</i>	
<i>dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro</i>	
<i>persuadere cupit. credat Iudaeus Apella,</i>	100
<i>non ego: namque deos didici securum agere aevum.</i>	
<i>nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id</i>	
<i>tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.</i>	
<i>Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.</i>	

Having left mighty Rome, I found a roof in a modest inn at Aricia; the rhetorician Heliodorus, by far the most learned of the Greeks, was my companion. Next was Forum Appii, crammed with boatmen and mean innkeepers. We lazily cut this part of the journey into two, although smarter travellers do it in a day. The Appian Way is less tiring for those who travel slowly. Here because of the water, which was very poor quality, I declared war on my stomach and impatiently waited for my companions while they ate. Already night was casting its darkness over the earth and preparing to sprinkle the sky with stars. Then the slaves abused the boatmen, the boatmen the slaves. "Come to land here!" "You are putting three hundred on board." "Stop! That's enough." While fares were demanded and the mule was harnessed, a whole hour passed away. Nasty gnats and marsh frogs prevented sleep; the boatman awash with too much poor quality wine sang about an absent girlfriend and a passenger replied. At last the exhausted passenger fell asleep,

the mule was released to graze and the lazy boatman tied the reins to a stone before lying on his back and snoring. It was already getting light when we realised that the barge was not moving. One hot-headed fellow leapt up and struck the mule and the boatman about the head and back with a willow stick. We finally landed just on ten o'clock and washed our faces and hands in your waters, Feronia. We had a meal and crawled three miles as we climbed up to Anxur, perched on its shining rocks. The excellent Maecenas and Cocceius were to come here, each sent as ambassadors on important business, as they were experienced in settling disagreements between friends. Here I applied dark ointment to my sore eyes. Meanwhile Maecenas arrived with Cocceius and, at the same time, Fonteius Capito, so perfect a gentleman that Antony had no greater friend. We happily departed Fundi and its governor Aufidius Luscus, laughing at the rewards of the mad clerk, his broad striped toga praetexta and his pan of charcoal. Next we stayed exhausted in the city of the Mamurrae, where Murena housed us and Capito fed us. The dawn of the next day was much more welcome, for at Sinuessa Plotius, Varius and Virgil met us, the purest of souls which the earth ever bore and to whom no-one was more devoted than I. What embraces there were and what joy there was! While I am still of sound mind, I assert that nothing is more valuable than a friend. A little house very close to the Campanian bridge provided us with a roof over our heads, and the people charged with the responsibility provided wood and salt. From here our mules went to Capua where in due course they laid aside their packs. Maecenas went off to play, while Virgil and I went off to sleep, for playing ball games is not for those with sore eyes and indigestion. The very splendid villa of Cocceius gave us shelter for our next stop after here. It is above the inns of Caudium. Now, Muse, in a few words tell me about the contest between the jester Sarmentus and Messius Cicirrus, and the parentage of each of the contestants, Messius is an Oscan of well-known family; the mistress of Sarmentus is still alive; sprung from such ancestors they entered the contest. First Sarmentus said "I say that you are like a wild horse." We laughed and Messius himself said "I agree" and he tossed his head. Sarmentus replied "If the horn had not been cut from your forehead, what would you do, since you are threatening enough with it removed?" An unsightly scar had disfigured the forehead on the left side of his face. With many a joke about his Campanian disease and his face, he asked him to dance like the shepherd Cyclops; he did not need a mask or the raised boots used in tragedy. Messius had much to say in reply. He asked whether Sarmentus had made a votive offering of his chain to the household gods. Although he was a clerk, his mistress's claim was no weaker because of this. Finally he asked why he had ever run away, since a pound of corn was a good enough price for one so thin and scrawny. We prolonged that meal with our enjoyment. From here we made straight for Beneventum, where our busy host almost went up in flames as he turned thin thrushes on the fire. For when the fire slipped out of the ancient kitchen, the wandering flame hurried to lick the roof. Then you would have seen the hungry guests

and the frightened slaves snatch up the meal and all try to put out the flames. From here Apulia began to show me her well-known mountains, which the sirocco scorches and over which we would never have crawled if a country house near Trivicum not taken us in, but not without smoke which brought tears to our eyes, since damp branches, leaves and all, were burning in the stove. Here, fool that I am, I waited until the middle of the night for a faithless girl; sleep overtook me, however, while I was eager to make love and vulgar visions filled my dreams and I spattered my nightshirt and my stomach as I lay on my back. From here we were rapidly moved twenty-four miles in carriages to spend the night in a small town, the name of which I cannot fit into my verse, though I can easily describe it by signs: here water, the cheapest of things, is sold, but the bread is by far the best so that a traveller usually carries supplies on his shoulders. For at Canusium, which was founded a long time ago by brave Diomedes, the bread is gritty (and they have not even a jugful more of water). Sadly Varius left us here, as we, his friends, wept. From there we came exhausted to Rubi, when we had completed a long stage made more difficult by rain. The weather was better the next day, but the road worse right up to the walls of Bari, a seaside town. Then Gnatia built by angry waters gave us laughter and mirth when it tried to persuade us that incense melts without flames on the threshold of the temple. Apella the Jew may believe this, but I do not. For I have learned that the gods lead a carefree life, and, if nature produces anything miraculous, the bad-tempered gods do not send it down from the heights of heaven. Brundisium is the end of a long story and a long journey.

Extract 8: Horace *Satires* 1.6.

<i>non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos incoluit finis, nemo generosior est te, nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent, ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco</i>	5
<i>ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum. cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere, ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos</i>	10
<i>et vixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos; contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante iudice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores</i>	15
<i>saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus, qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. quid oportet nos facere a volgo longe longaque remotos?</i>	

<i>namque esto: populus Laevino mallet honorem quam Decio mandare novo censorque moveret</i>	20
<i>Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus: vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem. sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru non minus ignotos generosis. quo tibi, Tilli, sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?</i>	25
<i>invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset. nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum, audit continuo “quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?” ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis</i>	30
<i>iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo: sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae, imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,</i>	35
<i>quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus, omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit. “tunc, Syri Damae aut Dionysi filius, audes deicere de saxo civis aut tradere Cadmo?” “at Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno;</i>	40
<i>namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.” “hoc tibi Paulus et Messalla videris? at hic, si plostra ducenta concurrantque foro tria funera magna, sonabit, cornua quod vincatque tubas: saltem tenet hoc nos.”</i>	45
<i>nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum, nunc, quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim, quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno. dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,</i>	50
<i>praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum; nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim Vergilius, post hunc Varius dixere, quid essem.</i>	55
<i>ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus— infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari— non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum me Satureiano vectari rura caballo, sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos,</i>	60
<i>pauca; abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco, quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum</i>	

non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis 65
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos,
si neque avaritiam neque sordes nec mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,
ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis, 70
causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto
ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris, 75
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
artis quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. vestem servosque sequentis,
in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos. 80
ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi
nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim 85
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequer; neque ego essem questus. at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque
non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 90
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio. nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis aevum remeare peractum
atque alios legere, ad fastum quoscumque parentes 95
optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio volgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.
nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res 100
atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
exirem, plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum, 105
mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos.
obiciet nemo sordes mihi, quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur

*te pueri, lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo. quacumque libido est,
incedo solus, percontor quanti holus ac far,
fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro
saepe Forum, adsisto divinis, inde domum me
ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum;
cena ministratur pueris tribus et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet, adstat echinus
vilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.
deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
voltum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vago aut ego lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet unguor olivo,
non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.
pransus non avide, quantum interpellat inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. haec est
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
his me consolor victurum suavius ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuissent.*

entrusted to you and become a tribune? Envy increased, which would be less if you had remained a private citizen. For when any mad fellow ties black thongs half way up his leg and lowers the broad stripe over his chest, he immediately hears “Who is this man? Who is his father?” Just as if someone had the same disease as Barrus and wants to be considered handsome, wherever he went he would incite a curiosity among the girls as to what his face was like, his calf, his foot, his teeth, and his hair. So any man who promises to look after the citizens, the city, the empire and Italy, and the shrines of the gods, compels all mankind to care to find out who his father is and whether he is dishonoured because his mother is unknown. “Do you, son of Syrus, or Dama or Dionysius, dare to throw citizens from the Tarpeian rock or to hand them over to Cadmus?” “But my colleague Novius sits one step behind me, because he is only what my father was,” you say.

Do you consider yourself to be a Paulus or a Messala? But his Novius, even if two hundred carts and three huge funerals converged on the forum, will shout out loud enough to overcome horns and trumpets: at least this grabs our attention.

Now I return to myself, the son of a freedman father whom all criticise for being the son of a freedman father, since I am now a familiar friend of yours, Maecenas, although in days past it was because I was a tribune in command of a legion. This case is different from that, since although anyone may justifiably envy that office, they should not also envy me my friendship with you, especially since you are cautious in your choice of friends from those who keep far away from the disgraceful currying of favour. I could not call myself fortunate if I had won your friendship by chance: for it was not chance that brought us together; the excellent Virgil some time ago, and later Varius, told you what kind of man I was. When I came into your presence, I said a few words, for shame that robs one of speech prevented me from saying more. I did not tell you that I was the son of a famous father and rode about the countryside on a Saturian horse, but simply who I was. You said few words in reply, as is your custom: I went away, and you called me back nine months later and told me to join your band of friends. I consider it a great achievement that I pleased you, since you distinguish between the base and the honourable not on the grounds of the fame of their fathers, but of the pureness of their life and heart.

If my character is flawed with a few moderate faults, but otherwise good, just as you might find fault with the moles scattered on a good-looking body, if no-one charges me with greed, vulgarity or debauchery, I live free from sin and guilt, (this seems like self-praise) and am loved by my friends, because of the influence of my father. Although a poor man with a meagre plot of land, he would not send me to the school of Flavius, where important boys, the sons of important centurions, used to go with satchel and writing tablet

hanging from their left shoulders, each bringing eight copper coins on the Ides. But he dared to take his son to Rome to be taught where he could learn the skills which any *eques* or senator would have their children learn. Anyone who saw my clothes and accompanying slaves (the norm in a great city) would think that they were provided from family wealth. He himself, the incorruptible guardian, went to all my classes with me. Need I say any more? He kept me safe from not only shameful deeds, but from all kinds of disgrace, which is the first achievement of virtue. Nor did he fear that, if one day I were to earn the small salary of an auctioneer or collector of taxes, as he was himself, that someone would consider this to be a fault of his making. Nor would I have complained. But now I owe him praise and even greater thanks. It would never shame me, in my right mind, to have a father like this, and so, I would not defend myself by saying that I do not have a free-born and famous father, as a large majority would, who would say it is not their own fault. What I say and think is very different from them. For, if my character required me after a given age to revisit the life I have lived and to choose whatever parents I wanted in line with my pride, I would be content with my own and would not adopt those honoured with the *fascēs* and seats of office. Although the mob would think me mad, perhaps I would seem sane to you, because I did not wish to ever bear a burden more troublesome than I am accustomed to. For at once I would have to increase my income, greet more clients, take one or another as my companion so that I never seemed to go around the city or the country alone, have more servants and horses to feed, and use carriages. As things are, I can go out on a short-tailed mule, even if I have to go as far as Tarentum, while the saddlebags chafe his loins with their weight and his rider chafes his shoulders. No mean fellow will taunt me, as he does you, Tillius, when five slaves follow you, the praetor, on the road to Tibur, carrying a chamber-pot and wine baskets. I live a more pleasant life than you, famous senator, in this and a thousand other ways. Wherever the desire takes me, I walk alone. I ask the price of vegetables and flour. Often in the evening I walk around the deceitful Circus and the Forum. I stop and listen to soothsayers, then go off home to my dish of leek, chick-peas and fritters. Dinner is served by three slaves, and a white stone supports two cups and a wine-ladle, with a salt-cellar, a dish and a flask alongside, and Campanian furniture. Then I go to bed, not weighed down with cares, because I have to get up early next day, or go past Marsyas, who says that he cannot stand the sight of Novius the younger. I lie in bed till ten a.m. After this I wander about and, after reading or writing something which pleases me in quiet times, I anoint myself with oil, not the kind that the filthy Natta steals from lamps. When I am tired and the fiercer sun advises me to go to the baths, I avoid the Campus and ball games. Having had a light lunch, enough to keep the wolf from the door for the day, I relax at home. This is the life of those set free from wretched, oppressive ambition. I console myself that I shall live more pleasantly than if I was a quaestor and my father and uncle too.

Extract 9: Horace *Satires* 1.9.

ibam forte *Via Sacra*, sicut meus est mos,
 nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:
 accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
 arreptaque manu "quid agis, dulcissime rerum?"
 "suaviter, ut nunc est," inquam "et cupio omnia quae vis." 5
 cum adsectaretur, "num quid vis?" occupo. at ille
 "noris nos" inquit; "docti sumus." hic ego "pluris
 hoc" inquam "mihi eris." misere discedere quaerens
 ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
 dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos 10
 manaret talos. "o te, Bolane, cerebri
 felicem" aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
 garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi
 nil respondebam, "misere cupis" inquit "abire:
 iamdudum video; sed nil agis: usque tenebo; 15
 persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi." "nil opus est te
 circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum;
 trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos."
 "nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger: usque sequar te."
 demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus, 20
 cum gravius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille:
 "si bene me novi, non *Viscum* pluris amicum,
 non *Varium* facies; nam quis me scribere pluris
 aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
 mollius? invidet quod et *Hermogenes*, ego canto." 25
 interpellandi locus hic erat "est tibi mater,
 cognati, quis te salvo est opus?" "haud mihi quisquam.
 omnis composui." "felices. nunc ego resto."
 "confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, *Sabella*
 quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna: 30
 'hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis
 nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra:
 garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,
 si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas.'" 35
 ventum erat ad *Vestae*, quarta iam parte diei
 praeterita, et casu tum respondere vadato
 debebat, quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
 "si me amas," inquit "paulum hic ades." "inteream, si
 aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
 et propero quo scis." "dubius sum, quid faciam", inquit, 40
 "tene relinquam an rem." "me, sodes." "non faciam" ille,
 et praecedere coepit; ego, ut contendere durum
 cum victore, sequor. "*Maecenas* quomodo tecum?"

hinc repetit. "paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.
nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes 45
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere: dispeream, ni
summosses omnis." "non isto vivimus illic,
quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam, 50
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
cuique suus." "magnum narras, vix credibile." "atqui
sic habet." "accendis quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse." "velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
expugnabis: et est qui vinci possit eoque 55
difficilis aditus primos habet." "haud mihi deero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram,
occurram in triviis, deducam. nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus." haec dum agit, ecce 60
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. "unde venis et
quo tendis?" rogat et respondet. vellere coepi
et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus 65
ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.
"certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum." "memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam; hodie tricensima sabbata: vin tu
curtis Iudaeis oppedere?" "nulla mihi" inquam 70
"religio est." "at mi: sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum. ignosces; alias loquar." huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. casu venit obvius illi
adversarius et "quo tu, turpissime?" magna 75
inclamat voce, et "licet antestari?" ego vero
oppono auriculam. rapit in ius; clamor utrimque,
undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.

I was, by chance going along the *Via Sacra*, as was my habit, thinking about some nonsense or other, and totally absorbed in it, when a man whom I knew only by name ran up and seized my hand "How are you going, my dearest fellow?" "Well, at the moment," I said "and want everything you want." When he followed me, I got in first by saying "Surely there is nothing you want?" But he said "You know me. I am a scholar." I said "For this reason you will be more highly esteemed by me." Pitifully seeking to escape from him first I walked faster, then stopped and said something into my slave's ear, while the sweat dripped right down to my

ankles. I kept saying to myself, "O Bolanus, how lucky you are to be understanding", while he rabbited on about something, praising the streets and the city. When I did not reply to him, he said "You are dreadfully anxious to get away; I have seen that for a long time: but it is no good: I shall stick with you. I shall stay with you from here to wherever you are going." "There is no need for you to be led all over the place: I want to visit a man whom you do not know. He lives far off across the Tiber near Caesar's gardens." "I have nothing better to do and I am no slowcoach. I shall keep on following you."

My ears droop like those of a resentful donkey when too heavy a burden is loaded on its back. He begins

If I know myself well enough, you will not think that Viscus or Varius is a better friend than I; for who can write more verses more quickly than I? Who can dance more delicately? I sing in a way that even Hermogenes might envy.

This was my chance to interrupt "Have you a mother and relatives who are dependant on your welfare?" "Not one, I have buried them all." "How lucky they are. Now I alone am left."

Finish me, for a sad fate threatens me, because an old Sabine woman, having shaken her prophetic urn, sang to me as a boy: 'No dread poison, nor enemy sword will be his end, nor a cough or pleurisy or gout, since a chatterbox will finish him off one day: if he is wise, he will avoid talkative men as soon as he reaches manhood.'

We had come to the temple of Vesta and a quarter of the day had already passed, but by chance he had to answer to bail in a legal case, which he would lose, if he did not appear. "If you love me," he said "stay here a little while." "I would perish, if I either had the strength to stand up in court or knew the civil law; and I am in a hurry to go where you know I am going." "I am not sure what I ought to do," he said "Should I abandon my case or you?" "Me, please." "I shall not do that," he said and began to lead the way; I follow, since it is hard to compete with one who has defeated you. "How are things between Maecenas and you?" he began again.

A man with few friends, but clearly one of good sense. No-one has ever made better use of his good luck. You would have a strong supporter, who could bring you prosperity, if you were willing to introduce me to this man. I would be ruined, if you had not cleared the others out of the way.

We do not live there in the way that you think; there is no household purer than this, nor freer from evil; it never hurts me, I say, that someone is richer or wiser than I. Each person has his own place.

“I can scarcely believe the large claim you have made.” “Nevertheless, it is true.” “Your words inflame my desire to be closer to him.” “You only have to wish for it; such is your virtue that you will take him by storm. He is a man who can be won over and that is why he makes the first approach so difficult.”

I shall not let myself down; I shall bribe his slaves; if I am kept out today, I shall not stop. I shall look for an appropriate moment. I shall meet him in the street and escort him home. Life gives nothing to mortals without great effort on their part.

While this was going on, look, Fuscus Aristius comes towards us, a dear friend of mine who knew the fellow well. We stopped. “Where have you come from and where are you going?” he asked and answered. I began to grasp his cloak and his yielding arms with my hand, nodded and winked too in the hope that he would rescue me. The cruel joker laughed and pretended not to understand. I became very angry. “Surely you said that there was something which you wanted to say to me in private?” “I do remember well, but I shall tell you at a more appropriate time. Today is the thirtieth Sabbath. Do you want to fart in the faces of the circumcised Jews?” “I have no religious scruples.” I said. “But I have; I am a little weaker like so many others. Pardon me; I’ll talk another day.” To think so black a sun had risen for me! The rascal fled and left me under the knife.

By chance his opponent came face to face with him. He shouted in a loud voice “Where are you going, you scoundrel? Can I call you as a witness?” I let him touch my ear. He rushed him off to court. There was shouting all over the place as people rushed about. In this way Apollo saved me.

Extract 10: Horace *Satires* 1.10.

*nempe in composito dixi pede currere versus
 Lucili. quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est,
 ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo
 urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
 nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera; nam sic 5
 et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
 ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
 auditoris; et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus.
 est brevitatis opus, ut currat sententia neu se
 impediatur verbis lassas onerantibus auris, 10
 et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
 defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
 interdum urbani, parentis viribus atque
 extenuantis eas consulto. ridiculum acri*

<i>fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.</i>	15
<i>illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,</i>	
<i>hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher</i>	
<i>Hermogenes umquam legit neque simius iste</i>	
<i>nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.</i>	
<i>“at magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis</i>	20
<i>miscuit.” o seri studiorum, quine putetis</i>	
<i>difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti</i>	
<i>contigit? “at sermo lingua concinnus utraque</i>	
<i>suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.”</i>	
<i>cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum</i>	25
<i>dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?</i>	
<i>scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque Latine,</i>	
<i>cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque</i>	
<i>Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita</i>	
<i>verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?</i>	30
<i>atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,</i>	
<i>versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus</i>	
<i>post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:</i>	
<i>“in silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si</i>	
<i>magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.”</i>	35
<i>turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque</i>	
<i>diffingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,</i>	
<i>quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa</i>	
<i>nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.</i>	
<i>arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta</i>	40
<i>eludente senem comis garrire libellos</i>	
<i>unus vivorum, Fundani, Pollio regum</i>	
<i>facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer</i>	
<i>ut nemo Varius ducit, molle atque facetum</i>	
<i>Vergilio adhuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae:</i>	45
<i>hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino</i>	
<i>atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,</i>	
<i>inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim</i>	
<i>haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.</i>	
<i>at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem</i>	50
<i>plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. age, quaeso,</i>	
<i>tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?</i>	
<i>nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?</i>	
<i>non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,</i>	
<i>cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprensus?</i>	55
<i>quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis</i>	
<i>quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit</i>	
<i>versiculos natura magis factos et euntis</i>	
<i>mollius ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,</i>	

<i>hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos</i>	60
<i>ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus, Etrusci</i>	
<i>quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni</i>	
<i>ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque</i>	
<i>ambustum propriis. fuerit Lucilius, inquam,</i>	
<i>comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem</i>	65
<i>quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor</i>	
<i>quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,</i>	
<i>si foret hoc nostrum fato delapsus in aevum,</i>	
<i>detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra</i>	
<i>perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo</i>	70
<i>saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet unguis.</i>	
<i>saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint</i>	
<i>scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,</i>	
<i>contentus paucis lectoribus. an tua demens</i>	
<i>vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?</i>	75
<i>non ego; nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax,</i>	
<i>contemptis aliis, explosa Arbuscula dixit.</i>	
<i>men moveat cimex Pantilius aut cruciet quod</i>	
<i>vellicet absentem Demetrius aut quod ineptus</i>	
<i>Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?</i>	80
<i>Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,</i>	
<i>Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque</i>	
<i>Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque</i>	
<i>ambitione relegata. te dicere possum,</i>	
<i>Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque</i>	85
<i>vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,</i>	
<i>compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos</i>	
<i>prudens praetereo, quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,</i>	
<i>adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe</i>	
<i>deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,</i>	90
<i>discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.</i>	
<i>i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.</i>	

I did indeed say that the verses of Lucilius run to an irregular beat. Would any supporter of Lucilius be silly enough to deny that this is the case? Yet on the same page the same man is praised for satirising the city so wittily.

Although I grant him this attribute, I would not grant him any others; for, if I did this, I would have to admire the mimes of Laberius as beautiful poetry. So it is not enough to make your listener open his mouth in laughter; although this too has its virtues. You need brevity so that your sentence runs on and does not become involved in excessive wordiness that exhausts the listener. You also need a style which is sometimes sad, often humorous to reflect the role of orator or poet or the wit, who keeps his strength in check or deliberately weakens them. Wit for the most part is better and

more effective at cutting through difficult situations than bitterness. Those who wrote Old Comedy in times gone by still survive and should be imitated, whom the handsome Hermogenes has never read nor the ape who has only learnt to recite Calvus and Catullus.

“But it was a great achievement to mix Greek and Latin words,” you say. O you late learners! Do you really think that what Pitholeon of Rhodes achieved was difficult and miraculous? “But a style which uses both languages produces a sweeter rhythm, as when Chian wine is mixed with Falernian.” When you are writing poetry, I ask you, or when you plead the difficult case of the defendant Petilius. Would you really forget your country and your lineage and, while Pedius Publicola and Corvinus sweat over their cases in Latin, prefer to mix your native language with words sourced overseas, like the Canusians who are bilingual?

And I, although born on this side of the sea, was composing verses in Greek, but Qirinus appeared to me after midnight, when dreams are true, and told me not to in such words: “You would be no more mad to take timber into a wood than to prefer to swell the crowded ranks of the Greeks.”

The bombastic Alpine poet murders Memnon and makes the source of the Rhine muddy, I am playing with these items which neither will be heard in the temple while competing for Tarpa’s favour nor come back again and again to be watched in the theatre.

You alone, Fundanius, can chatter charmingly in your poetry about how the clever prostitute and Davos trick the old-man Chremes. Pollio writes of the exploits of the kings in triple beat. Varius, like no other, writes epics of bravery. The Muses, who rejoice in the countryside, have granted Virgil a gentle charm. This satire, which Varro from the river Atax and several others had tried in vain, I might be able to write more successfully, though not as well as the inventor. Nor would I dare to drag from his head the crown which clings there with much glory.

But I have said that his stream flows full of mud, often containing more that should be removed than should be left in. Come, I ask you, although you are learned, do you find no fault in the great Homer? Doesn’t the friendly Lucilius want to change something in the tragedies of Accius? Does he not laugh at the verses of Ennius as short on dignity, when he says that he is no greater than those in whom he has found fault? So what prevents us when we read Lucilius’ poetry from asking whether it is his character or the harsh nature of his topics which prevents his poetry from appearing finished and flowing more gently, and if anyone was content with having put his ideas into six feet and happy to have written two hundred lines before dinner and two hundred after dining? Such was the character of Etruscan Cassius, who raged more than a swift river, that, the story goes, he was burnt upon a pyre made of boxes of his own books.

Lucilius may have been, I say, friendly and urbane, and more refined than one would expect of the writer of poetry which is new and not tried by the Greeks and more refined than the crowd of ancient poets; if he had been

born by fate in our time, he would polish much of his work, cut out everything which drags his work out beyond what is needed, and, while composing his verse, he would often scratch his head and bite his nails.

Often you must use the other end of your stilus, if you want to write something worth reading, and not toil to earn the admiration of the mob, but be happy with just a few readers. Are you mad enough to want to have your poetry recited in the humblest of schools? I am not; for it is enough for the *equites* to applaud me, as the brazen Arbuscula said with complete contempt when she was hissed.

Am I to be moved by that bug Pantilius or tortured because Demetrius disparages me when I am not there, or because silly Fannius, the guest of Hermogenes Tigellus, maligns me? May Plotius, Varius, Maecenas, Virgil, Valgius, the noble Octavian, Fuscus or the brothers Viscus approve of and praise my work! Without using flattery I can name you Pollio, you Messalla and your brother, and at the same time you Bibulus and Servius and frank Furnius and several other learned friends whom I carefully pass over. I should like them to be pleased with these verses, such as they are, and would be disappointed if they pleased them less than I hoped. Demetrius and, you, Tigellius, I tell to weep among your pupils in their chairs. Go, slave, and quickly add these verses to my little book.

Extract 11: Horace *Epode* 1.1–4.

*ibis Liburnis inter alia navium
amice, propugnacula
paratus omne Caesaris periculum
subire, Maecenas, tuo.*

You, Maecenas, my friend, will go in a Liburnian galley among other towering ships prepared to undergo at risk to yourself all the dangers that threaten Caesar.

Extract 12: Horace *Epode* 3.

*parentis olim si quis inopia manu
senile guttur fregerit,
edit cicutis alium nocentius.
o dura messorum ilia.
quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis?
num viperinus his cruor
incoctus herbis me fefellit? an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?
ut Argonautas praeter omnis candidum
Medea mirata est ducem,
ignota tauris inligaturum iuga
perunxit hoc Iasonem,
hoc delibutis ulta donis paelicem
serpente fugit alite.*

<i>nec tantus umquam siderum insedit vapor</i>	15
<i>siticulosae Apuliae</i>	
<i>nec munus umeris efficacis Herculis</i>	
<i>inarsit aestuosius.</i>	
<i>at si quid umquam tale concupiveris,</i>	
<i>iocose Maecenas, precor,</i>	20
<i>manum puella savio opponat tuo,</i>	
<i>extrema et in sponda cubet.</i>	

If anyone chokes the aged throat of his father with impious hand, let him eat garlic which is more deadly than hemlock. What tough guts harvesters must have! What poison is this which attacks my vitals? Have I been deceived by a viper's blood which has been cooked in my greens? Or has Canidia handled this evil meal? When Medea fell in love with the leader of the Argonauts, who was fairer than the rest, she smeared Jason with this when he was about to place the unfamiliar yoke on the bulls. It was with this that she smeared the gifts with which she took vengeance on his mistress before escaping on a flying dragon. No heat as great as this ever descended from the stars to dry Apulia, nor did the present burn more fiercely on the shoulders of the capable Hercules. If you ever covet something like this, my playful Maecenas, I hope that your girl will put her hand in the way of your kisses and will lie on the edge of the bed.

Extract 13: Horace *Epode* 9.

<i>quando repositum Caecubum ad festas dapes</i>	
<i>victore laetus Caesare</i>	
<i>tecum sub alta -sic Iovi gratum- domo,</i>	
<i>beate Maecenas, bibam</i>	
<i>sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,</i>	5
<i>hac Dorium, illis barbarum?</i>	
<i>ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius</i>	
<i>dux fugit ustis navibus</i>	
<i>minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat</i>	
<i>servis amicus perfidis.</i>	10
<i>Romanus eheu -posterius negabit-</i>	
<i>emancipatus feminae</i>	
<i>fert vallum et arma miles et spadonibus</i>	
<i>servire rugosis potest</i>	
<i>interque signa turpe militaria</i>	15
<i>sol adspicit conopium.</i>	
<i>ad huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos</i>	
<i>Galli, canentes Caesarem,</i>	
<i>hostiliumque navium portu latent</i>	
<i>puppis sinistrorsum citae.</i>	20

<i>io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos currus et intactas boves?</i>	
<i>io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem bello reportasti ducem,</i>	
<i>neque Africanum, cui super Carthaginem virtus sepulcrum condidit.</i>	25
<i>terra marique victus hostis Punico lugubre mutavit sagum.</i>	
<i>aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus ventis iturus non suis,</i>	30
<i>exercitatas aut petit Syrtis Noto aut fertur incerto mari.</i>	
<i>capaciores adfer huc, puer, scyphos et Chia vina aut Lesbia</i>	
<i>vel quod fluentem nauseam coerceat metire nobis Caecubum.</i>	35
<i>curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat dulci Lyaeo solve.</i>	

Happy Maecenas, when shall I drink with you to celebrate Caesar's victory in your lofty house (for this would be agreeable to Jupiter) the Caecuban wine which was stored away for a celebratory feast, while the lyre plays its music mixed with the pipes, the former its Dorian song, the latter foreign music? We did this recently when Neptune's admiral Sextus Pompeius was driven from the sea and fled, as his ships had been set on fire. He had threatened to enslave Rome with the chains which he, as a friend, had taken from treacherous slaves. Alas, a Roman (future generations will find it hard to believe) became the slave of a woman, carried the stakes and weapons of a soldier but was willing to obey shrivelled eunuchs, while the sun looked down on the disgraceful mosquito-net among the army's standards. To here two thousand Gallic horsemen have turned their snorting horses, chanting Caesar's name, and the sterns of the enemy ships swiftly moved off to the left and lie hidden in the harbour. Hail Triumph, are you holding back the golden chariots and the oxen which have never been yoked? Hail Triumph, you did not bring back a general equal to this from the Jugurthine War, nor was Africanus, whose courage placed a tomb over Carthage, his like. The enemy, defeated by land and sea, has changed his purple cloak for one of mourning. He may reach Crete, famous for its hundred cities, although the winds are not in his favour, or make for the Syrtes which are buffeted by the south wind, or be carried away on some unknown sea. Slave, bring larger cups here and pour in Chian or Lesbian wines; or pour Caecuban wine for us because it will prevent our rising seasickness: we delight in being freed by the sweet gifts of Bacchus from our cares and fears for Caesar.

Extract 14: Horace *Epode* 14.

mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
oblivionem sensibus,
pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
arente fauce traxerim,
candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando: 5
deus, deus nam me vetat
inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
ad umbilicum adducere.
non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teium, 10
qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
non elaboratum ad pedem.
ureris ipse miser: quodsi non pulchrior ignis
accendit obsessam Ilion,
gaude sorte tua; me libertina, nec uno 15
contenta, Phryne macerat.

Why has this languid lethargy spread such great forgetfulness through my inmost senses, as if I have drunk cups which induce Lethe's sleep when my throat is dry? Faultless Maecenas, you are killing me by constantly asking this question. It is the god, the god, who forbids me to bring to an end the iambics which I began and promised to you. They say that Teian Anacreon was in love like this with Samian Bathyllus and often on his hollow lyre with simple metre wept for his love. You yourself are on fire, poor fellow; but, if no more beautiful flame burnt besieged Troy, be grateful for your lot. The freedwoman Phryne, who is not content with one man, distresses me.

Extract 15: Horace *Satires* 2.3.305–313.

[In this long *Satire*, which is a philosophical discussion on the follies of mankind, Horace asks his interlocutor, Damasippus, what his own folly is. Damasippus replies that it is the fact that he copies others greater than himself, such as Maecenas.]

"stultum me fateor—liceat concedere veris— 305
atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
aegrotare putes animi vitio." *"accipe: primum*
aedificas, hoc est longos imitaris, ab imo
ad summum totus moduli bipedalis, et idem
corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis 310
spiritum et incessum: qui ridiculus minus illo?
an, quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est,
tanto dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?"

“I confess my stupidity—let me yield to the truth—and my madness too. Just explain this in detail—from what sickness of mind do you think that I am suffering?”

‘I’ll tell you. First you are building, which means that you are copying tall men, although you are only two feet from top to toe and you laugh at the spirited walk of Turbo in his armour as if it is too big for his body. How are you less ridiculous than he? Or do you have to do exactly what Maecenas does even if you are nothing like him and such a poor match for him?’

Extract 16: Horace *Satires* 2.6.1–58.

hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret. auctius atque
di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis, 5
si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem,
si veneror stultus nihil horum: “o si angulus ille
proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!
o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi, 10
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!” si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro:
pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis! 15
ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius illustrem saturis Musaue pedestri?
nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu “Iane” libentius audis, 20
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt (sic dis placitum), tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: “heia,
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.”
sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem 25
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
postmodo, quod mi obsit, clare certumque locuto
luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
“quid tibi vis, insane, et quam rem agis?” improbus urget
iratis precibus: “tu pulses omne quod obstat, 30
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras.”
hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. at simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. “ante secundam

<i>Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras."</i>	35
<i>"de re communi scribae magna atque nova te orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti." "imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis." dixeris, "experiar": "si vis, potes," addit et instat. septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus, ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere raeda vellet iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas hoc genus: "hora quota est?" "Thraex est Gallina Syro par?" "matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent;" et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure. per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam invidiae noster. ludos spectaverat una, luserat in Campo: "Fortunae filius!" omnes. frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor: quicumque obviis est me consulit: "o bone, nam te scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet, numquid de Dacis audisti?" "nil equidem." "ut tu semper eris derisor!" "at omnes di exagitent me, si quicquam." "quid? militibus promissa Triquetra praedia Caesar an est Italia tellure daturus?" iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.</i>	40 45 50 55

This was in my prayers: a parcel of land not too large, a garden, a spring of water from the ridge near the house and a small amount of woodland above these. The gods have done better for me and given me even more. It is great. I ask for nothing more, son of Maia, except that you make these gifts my own. If I have not increased my property by evil means nor will make it less by vices or faults, if I offer no stupid prayers like these:

If only that nearest corner could be added which currently spoils the shape of my plot of land! If only some chance of fate would reveal to me an urn of money like that man who found some treasure so that he bought and worked the very piece of land, which he used to work as a hired hand, made rich by his friend Hercules!

If what I have gives me satisfaction and pleasure, I pray to you in this way: make the flocks which I own fat and everything else except my character, and be my main protector as you usually are.

So, since I have taken myself off from the city to my refuge in the hills, what else should I give prior attention to in the Satires of my prosaic Muse? Here no unpleasant currying favour ruins me, and no leaden south wind, nor autumn which brings sickness, a source of gain for bitter Libitina.

Father of Dawn, or Janus, if you prefer to hear that name, from whom men establish the start of all tasks and the labours of life, (for this is what the gods decided) be the source of my poem. In Rome you rush me away to stand surety for someone: “Come, bestir yourself to prevent someone else from undertaking your task first.” Whether the north wind sweeps the earth or winter brings a snowy day as the days shorten, I must go. Later, when I have clearly and unequivocally said what harms me, I must struggle with the crowds and do injury to those who are slow. “What do you want, madman? What on earth are you doing?” Some unruly fellow assails me with angry curses: “You strike everything which gets in your way, as if you are rushing to Maecenas with thoughts only for him.”

This gives me pleasure and is honey-sweet, I do not deny. But, as soon as I come to the Esquiline, a hundred concerns of others dance through my head and all around me. “Roscius begs you to meet him tomorrow at the Putal before seven.” “The clerks beg you, Quintus, to remember to return today for some great and new matter of common interest.” “Make sure that Maecenas puts his seal to these documents.” You say “I shall try.” “You can, if you want to.” he adds insistently.

The seventh or even the eighth year will have fled by since Maecenas began to count me among his friends, at least to the point that he wished to take me in his carriage, as he travelled, and to confide in me such trifles as—“What time is it?” “Is the Thracian Chicken a match for Syrus?” “The morning frosts now nip at those who do not take care.”—and such things which can be safely dropped into a leaky ear. Through all this time, day by day and hour by hour, our friendship has become the source of greater envy. He watched the games with him, he played ball with him in the Campus Martius: “He is fortune’s son!” A chilly rumour spreads from the rostra through all the crossroads: anyone I meet consults me: “My good man, you ought to know, since you are much closer to the gods, surely you have heard what is happening in Dacia?” “I have heard nothing at all.” “How you always mock us!” “May the gods pursue me, if I have heard anything.” “Well, is it in the three-cornered island or on Italian soil that Caesar intends to give the soldiers their promised land?” They gaze at me in wonder, when I swear that I know nothing, as the one man, I suppose, who possesses a remarkable and profound reticence.

Extract 17: Horace *Satires* 2.7.21–37.

*“non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
furcifer?” “ad te, inquam.” “quo pacto, pessime?” “laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse,
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis et haeres
nequiquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.*

*Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra levis. si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam, laudas securum holus ac, velut usquam 30
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque,
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam: "nemon oleum fert ocius? ecquis
audit?" cum magno blateras clamore fugisque. 35
Mulvius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,
discedunt."*

"Will you not say today, you scoundrel, where all this rot is leading?" "To you, I say." "How, you worthless fellow?"

You praise the good luck and customs of the people of old, but, if some god were to transport you suddenly back to those times, you would consistently refuse, either since you do not think that what you are shouting is more correct or since you are not firm in the defence of what is right, and, although you want to pull your foot out of the mud, you are stuck there. In Rome you prefer the country; when in the country, you praise to the stars the city you have come away from, you fickle one. If it happens that no-one has invited you to dinner, you praise your cheerful vegetables, and, as if you were in chains whenever you go out anywhere, you say that you are so lucky and love the fact that you do not have to go out anywhere else to enjoy a drink. If Maecenas were to command you to come to dinner late and just after dark, you would babble in a loud voice 'Can no-one bring me oil more quickly? Is anyone listening?' and you would rush off. Mulvius and the other dandies depart with curses which I cannot repeat to you.

Extract 18: Horace *Satires* 2.8.

*"ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus heri illic
de medio potare die." "sic, ut mihi numquam
in vita fuerit melius." "da, si grave non est,
quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca." 5
"in primis Lucanus aper: leni fuit Austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater: acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
his ut sublati puer alte cinctus acernam 10
gausape purpureo mensam pertersit et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantis offendere, ut Attica virgo*

<i>cum sacris Cereris, procedit fuscus Hydaspes Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers. hic erus 'Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum te magis adpositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'" 'divitias miseras! sed quis cenantibus una, Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.'</i>	15
<i>"summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra, si memini, Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone Vibidius, quos Maecenas adduxerat umbras. Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra, ridiculus totas semel absorbere placentas; Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret, indice monstraret digito; nam cetera turba, nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis, longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum, ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi. post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem ad lunam delecta. quid hoc intersit, ab ipso audieris melius. tum Vibidius Balatroni "nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti," et calices poscit maiores. vertere pallor tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acris potores, vel quod maledicunt liberius vel fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum. invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota Vibidius Balatroque secutis omnibus: imi convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis. adfertur squillas inter murena natantis in patina porrecta. sub hoc erus "haec gravida" inquit "capta est, deterior post partum carne futura. his mixtum ius est: oleo, quod prima Venafri pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi; vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato, dum coquitur—cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non hoc magis ullum aliud—; pipere albo, non sine aceto, quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam. erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras monstravi incoquere; inlutos Curtillus echinos, ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat." interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris. nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli sensimus, erigimur; Rufus posito capite, ut si</i>	20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55

<i>filius immaturus obisset, flere. quis esset finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum tolleret: "heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos te deus? ut semper gaudes inludere rebus humanis!" Varius mappa compescere risum vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso "haec est condicio vivendi" aiebat, "eoque responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori. tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus, ne male conditum ius adponatur, ut omnes praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent. adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si, ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso. sed convivatoris, uti ducis, ingenium res adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."</i>	60
<i>Nasidienus ad haec "tibi di, quaecumque preceris, commoda dent: ita vir bonus es convivaeque comis" et soleas poscit. tum in lecto quoque videres stridere secreta divisos aure susurros."</i>	65
<i>"nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa redde, age, quae deinceps risisti." "Vibidius dum quaerit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagoena, quod sibi poscenti non dentur pocula, dumque ridetur fictis rerum Balatrone secundo, Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes membra gruis sparsi sale multo non sine farre, pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae et leporum avolsos, ut multo suavius, armos, quam si cum lumbis quis edit. tum pectore adusto vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes, suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti, ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis Canidia adflasset, peior serpentibus Afris."</i>	70
	75
	80
	85
	90

How did you enjoy dinner with the wealthy Nasidienus? For, when I was looking for you to come to dinner yesterday, I was told that you were drinking there from midday. "I have never had a better time in all my life." Tell me, if it is no trouble, which dish first calmed your grumbling stomach.

First, there was Lucanian wild-boar; it was caught when there was a gentle south-wind, as the father of the dinner repeatedly told us. There were

sharp turnips, lettuces and radishes, the kind that stimulate a tired stomach, and rampion, fish sauce and dried Coan wine lees. When these had been removed, a slave with a high belt used a purple cloth to wipe down the maple-wood table, and another picked up from the ground whatever lay there unused and might offend the diners. Then dark-skinned Hydaspes came forward, like an Attic maiden bearing the sacred objects of Ceres, bearing Caecuban wine and Alcon Chian which had not been mixed with sea-water. Our host said 'If Alban or Falernian wine is more to your taste, Maecenas, than those I have offered, I have both'.

"How miserable to be rich! But tell me, Fundanius, who else enjoyed this remarkable meal with you? I am dying to know."

I was in the top position. Next to me was Viscus Thurinus and below him, if I remember correctly, was Varius. Then there were Vibidius and Servilius Balatro, the uninvited guests whom Maecenas had brought with him. Nomentanus was above the host, Porcius below him, who made us laugh by trying to consume whole cakes in one mouthful. Nomentanus was invited so that he might point out with his index finger anything we might have missed. The rest of the crowd, I mean us, dined on birds, oysters, and fish, which had a subtle taste very different from the usual one. This became obvious at once, when he offered me the innards of plaice and turbot which I had not tasted before. After this he taught me that honey apples were red because they were picked under a waning moon. It would be better if you heard why that matters from the man himself.

"Then Vibidius said to Balatro 'Unless we drink ruinously, we shall die unavenged', and he demanded larger cups. This turned the face of the host pale, as he feared nothing more than hard drinkers either because they abuse people too freely or because fiery wines dull a delicate palate. Vibidius and Balatro poured whole wine flasks into large wine cups made in Allifae, followed by everyone else. But the guests on the lowest couches did not harm the wine flagons in the same way.

Then a moray eel was brought in stretched out on a platter with shrimps swimming around it. At this point the master said

This fish was captured before spawning; the flesh would taste worse if it was caught after spawning. This is how the sauce is mixed: oil which is from the first pressing at Venafrum, *garum* made from mackerel, and five-year old wine from this side of the sea is added, while it is cooking (after it has been cooked Chian wine is better than any other), white pepper and vinegar made from fermenting Methymnan grapes. I was the first to point out that green rocket and bitter elecampane should be cooked in it; Curtillus suggested unwashed sea-urchins, for the shell gives a better taste than brine.

Meanwhile the heavy wall-hangings fell and made a mess of the dish, bringing with them more black dust than the north-wind stirs up in Campanian fields. We feared something worse, but, when we realised no other danger threatened, we recovered. Rufus lowered his head, as if his young son had died, and wept. What would have been the end, if the wise Nomentanus had not cheered up his friend in this way: “Alas, Fortune, is there any crueler god than you? How you always take pleasure in having sport in human affairs!” Varius could hardly contain his laughter with his napkin. Balatro, who sneers at everything, said

This is the condition of life, and for this reason fame will never equal the efforts which you make. Remember that, if I am to be entertained lavishly, you will be tortured and distracted with every kind of concern. Will the bread be burnt? Will a badly seasoned sauce be presented? Will all the slaves be correctly dressed and elegant when they serve? Add to these the risk that the hangings will fall down, as they did just now, or a footman trip and break a dish. Things that go wrong bring out the best qualities in a host, like a general, whereas, when things go well, such qualities are often hidden.

To this Nasidienus replied: “May the gods grant you everything you pray for. You are so good a man and well-behaved guest.” and asked for his sandals. Then on each couch you would hear the sound of whispers being imparted secretly into ears.”

There is no game which I would rather have watched, but tell me what made you laugh next.

While Vibidius was asking the slaves whether the wine-cask was also broken, since he was not being given wine-cups as he demanded and we laughed at made-up jokes at Balatro’s instigation, you came back with a different expression, Nasidienus, as if intent on using your skill to improve your fortune. The slaves followed bringing on a large dish the limbs of a crane which had been torn apart and sprinkled with much salt and grain, the liver of a white goose which had been fattened on figs, and the shoulders of hares as being much sweeter when eaten without the loins. Then we saw blackbirds with burnt breasts and pigeons without their buttocks, tasty items, if our host had not told us why they were like this. So we fled from him, taking our revenge by tasting absolutely nothing, as if Canidia, worse than an African snake, had breathed all over them.

Extract 19: Horace *Carmina* 1.1.

*Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum,*

<i>sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis evitata rotis palmaque nobilis</i>	5
<i>terrarum dominos evehit ad deos; hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium certat tergemini tollere honoribus; illum, si proprio condidit horreo quicquid de Libycis verritur areis.</i>	10
<i>gaudentem patrios findere sarculo agros Attalicis condicionibus numquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare. luctantem Icaris fluctibus Africum</i>	15
<i>mercator metuens otium et oppidi laudat rura sui; mox reficit rates quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati. est qui nec veteris pocula Massici nec partem solido demere de die</i>	20
<i>spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae. multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus detestata. manet sub Iove frigido</i>	25
<i>venator tenerae coniugis immemor, seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus, seu rupit teretis Marsus aper plagas. me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus</i>	30
<i>Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori secernunt populo, si neque tibiae Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton. quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,</i>	35
<i>sublimi feriam sidera vertice.</i>	

Maecenas descended from royal ancestors, my protector and dear source of my honour, there are some who enjoy gathering Olympic dust as they race, when their scorching wheels have just avoided the turning post, and the noble winner's palm makes them masters of the earth and like gods. This man enjoys the way in which the fickle mob of citizens strives to raise him to the threefold honours; another enjoys storing in his own barn everything that has been swept from the threshing floors of Libya. If a man delights in turning the family land with a hoe, you would not ever persuade him even on the terms of Attalus to plough the Cretan sea as a frightened sailor in a Cyprian ship. A merchant who fears the African wind struggling with the

Icarian waves praises a life of leisure in the countryside near his town; soon he repairs his battered ships as he finds it hard to learn to put up with poverty. There is a man who does not refuse cups of old Massic wine and to take part of the working day stretching out his limbs under a green wild strawberry tree or at the gentle source of a sacred stream. Many enjoy camp life, the mixed sounds of trumpet and horn, and war which mothers hate. A huntsman without a thought for his young wife stays out in cold weather, if a doe has been spotted by his faithful hounds or a Marsian boar has burst through the rounded nets. As for me, the ivy crown, reward of the learned brow, puts me in the company of the gods above, and the cool groves with light-footed bands of Nymphs and Satyrs keep me apart from the rest of the people, as long as Euterpe does not prevent the playing of the pipes and Polhymnia does not refuse to tune the Lesbian lyre. But if you include me among the number of lyric poets, I shall hit the stars with head raised on high.

Extract 20: Horace *Carmina* 1.20.

*vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum levi, datus in theatro
cum tibi plausus,
clare Maecenas eques, ut paterni* 5
*fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticanani
montis imago.
Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
tu bibes uvam: mea nec Falernae* 10
*temperant vites neque Formiani
pocula colles.*

You will drink from modest cups cheap Sabine wine, which I myself sealed and stored away in a Greek jar on the day when you were applauded in the theatre, Maecenas, famous member of the *equites*, so that the banks of your paternal river and at the same time the pleasing sight of the Vatican hill re-echoed your praises. You will drink Caecuban and the grape crushed by the press of Cales; but my cups are not filled with the pleasures of Falernian wine or that from the hills of Formiae.

Extract 21: Horace *Carmina* 2.12.

*nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae,
nec durum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeni purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,
nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero* 5

<i>obire, Maecenas, mearum grande decus columenque rerum.</i>	
<i>a! te meae si partem animae rapit</i>	5
<i>marturior vis, quid moror alteram, nec carus aequae nec superstes integer? ille dies utramque ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,</i>	10
<i>utcumque praecedes, supremum carpere iter comites parati. me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae nec, si resurgat, centimanus Gyas divellet umquam: sic potenti Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.</i>	15
<i>seu Libra seu me Scorprios aspicit formidulosus, pars violentior natalis horae, seu tyrannus Hesperiae Capricornus undae</i>	20
<i>utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum: te Iovis impio tutela Saturno refulgens eripuit volucrisque Fati tardavit alas, cum populus frequens laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum:</i>	25
<i>me truncus illapsus cerebro sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum dextra levasset, Mercurialium custos virorum. reddere victimas aedemque votivam memento: nos humilem feriemus agnam.</i>	30

Why do you worry me to death with your complaints? It is not the wish of the gods or me that you should die first, Maecenas, my great source of glory and the pillar of my support. Alas, if some force snatches you away first, you part of my soul, what do I care for the other part, no longer loved and, although surviving, not a whole? That day will drag us both down to death. I have made a solemn oath and will not break it. We shall go, indeed, we shall go whenever you lead the way, prepared to take the final journey as companions. The breath of the fiery Chimaera will not ever tear me away from you, nor the hundred-handed Gyas, if he rises again. This is what Justice and the Fates have decided. Whether Libra or the fearsome Scorpio watches me as the more powerful influence at my birth, or Capricorn, the ruler of the western sea, our two star signs coincide in an amazing way. In your case, Jupiter shining in the face of the unholy Saturn, protected you and snatched you away and slowed down the wings of the

fates at the very moment when the crowds filling the theatre gave you three rousing cheers. As for me, the tree trunk which fell on my head would have killed me if Faunus, the guardian of Mercury's men, had not deflected the blow with his right hand. Remember to offer victims and a votive shrine: I shall offer a humble lamb.

Extract 23: Horace *Carmina* 2.18.

<i>non ebur neque aureum</i>	
<i>mea renidet in domo lacunar;</i>	
<i>non trabes Hymettiae</i>	
<i>premunt columnas ultima recisas</i>	
<i>Africa, neque Attali</i>	5
<i>ignotus heres regiam occupavi,</i>	
<i>nec Laconicas mihi</i>	
<i>trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.</i>	
<i>at fides et ingeni</i>	
<i>benigna vena est pauperemque dives</i>	10
<i>me petit; nihil supra</i>	
<i>deos lacezzo nec potentem amicum</i>	
<i>largiora flagito,</i>	
<i>satis beatus unicus Sabinis.</i>	
<i>truditur dies die</i>	15
<i>novaeque pergunt interire lunae;</i>	
<i>tu secunda marmora</i>	
<i>locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri</i>	
<i>immemor struis domos</i>	
<i>marisque Bais obstrepentis urges</i>	20
<i>summovere litora,</i>	
<i>parum locuples continente ripa.</i>	
<i>quid quod usque proximos</i>	
<i>revellis agri terminos et ultra</i>	
<i>limites clientium</i>	25
<i>salis avarus? pellitur paternos</i>	
<i>in sinu ferens deos</i>	
<i>et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.</i>	
<i>nulla certior tamen</i>	
<i>rapacis Orci fine destinata</i>	30
<i>aula divitem manet</i>	
<i>erum. quid ultra tendis? aequa tellus</i>	
<i>pauperi recluditur</i>	
<i>regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci</i>	
<i>callidum Promethea</i>	35
<i>revinxit auro captus. hic superbum</i>	
<i>Tantalum atque Tantali</i>	

*genus coercet, hic levare functum
 pauperem laboribus
 vocatus atque non vocatus audit.*

40

No ivory or gold ceiling panels shine in my house, nor beams from Hymettus press down on columns of marble quarried in furthest Africa, nor have I inherited the palace of Attalus as a long-lost heir. Nor do virtuous female clients of mine drag behind them gowns of Laconian purple; but I do have honesty and a fruitful vein of talent, and a rich man seeks my company, poor that I am. I do not pester the gods for anything more, nor do I demand more from my powerful friend [Maecenas], as I am happy enough on my unparalleled Sabine land. Day follows day and new moons rush to wane. But you, when close to death, arrange contracts for marble to be cut and without a care for your tomb build houses or press on with moving back the shoreline at Baiae, although the sea objects to it, as you feel that you are not wealthy enough while the shoreline holds you back. But what is the point in tearing out your neighbours' boundary stones and greedily leaping over your tenants' boundaries? Husband and wife are driven out carrying against their bosoms their household gods and grubby children. No hall, however, more certainly awaits its rich owner than the destined final resting-place of Orcus, which snatches us away. Why do you chase after more? The earth opens up to bury the poor and the sons of kings without distinction, and Orcus' servant could not be bribed with gold to release the cunning Prometheus. He restrains the arrogant Tantalus and his family, yet, whether summoned or not, he responds to the request to release the poor man who has finished his labours.

Extract 24: Horace *Carmina* 2.20.

*non usitata nec tenui ferar
 penna biformis per liquidum aethera
 vates neque in terris morabor
 longius invidiaque maior
 urbis relinquam. non ego pauperum* 5
*sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
 dilecte Maecenas, obibo
 nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
 iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
 pelles et album mutor in alitem* 10
*superne nascunturque leves
 per digitos umerosque plumae.
 iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
 visam gementis litora Bospori
 Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus* 15
ales Hyperboreosque campos.

me Colchus et qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis Dacus et ultimi
noscent Geloni, me peritus
discet Hiber Rhodanique potor. 20
absint inani funere neniae
luctusque turpes et querimoniae;
conpesce clamorem ac sepulcri
mitte supervacuos honores.

I shall not be carried through the clear air on common, slender wings as a poet with two shapes, nor shall I remain any longer on earth, but I, superior to envy, shall leave cities behind. I, born from the blood of poor parents, I, whom you, dear Maecenas, summon, will not die, nor shall I be penned in by the waters of the Styx. Even now rough skin grows on my legs and I am changing into a white bird from the top, and smooth feathers are growing on my fingers and my shoulders. Now, better known than Icarus, son of Daedalus, I shall visit the shores of the roaring Bosphorus, as a songful bird, the Gaetulan Syrtes and the plains of the Hyperboreans. The Colchian, the Dacian, who pretends not to fear the Marsian cohorts, and far-off Geloni will get to know me, The Spaniard will become educated by reading me and the man who drinks the water of the Rhone. May there be no dirges, disgraceful grieving or complaining at my poor funeral; suppress your shouts and do not bother with the pointless honours of a tomb.

Extract 25: Horace *Carmina* 3.8

Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
quid velint flores et acerra turis
plena miraris positusque carbo in
caespite vivo,
docte sermones utriusque linguae? 5
voveram dulcis epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
arboris ictu.
hic dies anno redeunte festus
corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit 10
amphorae fumum bibere institutae
consule Tullo.
sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
sospitis centum et vigiles lucernas
perfer in lucem: procul omnis esto 15
clamor et ira.
mitte civilis super urbe curas;
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,
Medus infestus sibi luctuosus

<i>dissidet armis,</i>	20
<i>servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae</i>	
<i>Cantaber sera domitus catena,</i>	
<i>iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu</i>	
<i>cedere campis.</i>	
<i>neglegens ne qua populus laboret</i>	25
<i>parce privatus nimium cavere,</i>	
<i>dona praesentis cape laetus horae et</i>	
<i>linque severa.</i>	

What am I to do as a bachelor on the first of March? You may wonder, learned as you are in speaking both languages, what is the meaning of the flowers, the boxes full of incense and the charcoal placed on freshly cut turf. I had vowed to Bacchus a delicious meal and a white goat, since I was almost killed by being struck by a tree. As the years return, this festive day will remove the cork sealed with pitch of a wine jar which was taught to drink the smoke in the consulship of Tullus. Drink, Maecenas, a hundred ladles of wine belonging to your friend who is safe and sound, and keep the watchful lamps burning until daylight: let all angry shouting be far away. Put aside too your worries for the city and its inhabitants; the Dacian Cotiso's army has been destroyed, the hostile Medes are at odds with the weapons which bring suffering upon themselves, the Cantabri, our ancient enemies of the the coast of Spain, are tamed at last by chains and are our slaves, and the Scythians have unstrung their bows and are planning to leave the plains. Forget your worries that the people are in difficulties, and, as you are a private citizen, stop worrying too much; happily take the gifts of the current hour and forget matters that are serious.

Extract 26: Horace *Carmina* 3.16.

<i>inclusum Danaen turris aenea</i>	
<i>robustaeque fores et vigilum canum</i>	
<i>tristes excubiae munierant satis</i>	
<i>nocturnis ab adulteris,</i>	
<i>si non Acrisium virginis abditae</i>	5
<i>custodem pavidum Iuppiter et Venus</i>	
<i>risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens</i>	
<i>converso in pretium deo.</i>	
<i>aurum per medios ire satellites</i>	
<i>et perrumpere amat saxa potentius</i>	10
<i>ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris</i>	
<i>Argivi domus ob lucrum</i>	
<i>demersa exitio: diffidit urbium</i>	
<i>portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos</i>	
<i>reges muneribus; munera navium</i>	15

<i>saevos illaqueant duces. crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam maiorumque fames. iure perhorru late conspicuum tollere verticem,</i>	
<i>Maecenas, equitum decus.</i>	20
<i>quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit, ab dis plura feret: nil cupientium nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum partis linquere gestio,</i>	
<i>contemptae dominus splendidior rei quam si quidquid arat impiger Apulus occultare meis dicerer horreis, magnas inter opes inops.</i>	25
<i>purae rivus aquae silvaque iugerum paucorum et segetis certa fides meae fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae fallit sorte beatior.</i>	30
<i>quamquam nec Calabriae mella ferunt apes nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora languescit mihi nec pingua Gallicis crescent vellera pascuis,</i>	35
<i>importuna tamen pauperies abest nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges. contracto melius parva cupidine vectigalia porrigam,</i>	40
<i>quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei campis continuem. multa petentibus desunt multa: bene est, cui deus obtulit parca quod satis est manu.</i>	

A bronze tower, stout doors and sombre patrols of watchdogs would have kept Danae shut in and well enough protected from night-time lovers, if Jupiter and Venus had not laughed at Acrisius, the frightened jailer of the girl he had hidden away: for they knew that there would be a safe and wide-open path for the god once he was turned into money. Gold loves to pass through the midst of servants and to break through rocks more effectively than a lightning strike. The house of the Argive seer collapsed and plunged into ruin because of the love of money: the man of Macedonia threw wide the gates of cities and undermined rival kings by using gifts; gifts snare fierce admirals. Cares and a hunger for more follow a supply of money which grows. Quite rightly I have shuddered at the thought of becoming someone widely known, Maecenas, glory of the *equites*. The more anyone denies himself an increase, the more the gods will bring him: naked I look for the camp of those who want nothing and as a deserter I am very eager to abandon the ranks of the rich, and to be more famous as one who

days: already the shepherd with his weary flock seeks the shade, the river and the rough thickets of Silvanus, and the silent river-bank lacks wandering breezes. You care about what constitution is best for the state and in your anxiety for the city you fear for the trouble being prepared by the Chinese, the Bactrians once ruled by Cyrus and the troublesome area round the river Don. A wise god hides future events in murky darkness and laughs if mortals worry about things beyond their control. Remember to settle fairly matters which are at hand; everything else is swept away like a river, which flows peacefully in the middle of its channel down to the Etruscan sea, or now rolls down altogether stones which have been worn away, branches which have been snapped off, cattle and houses amid the roar of the mountains and the neighbouring woods, when a wild flood disturbs its quiet stream. That man will be master of himself and will live a happy life, who at the end of each day can say "I have lived." Tomorrow let our Father cover the sky with dark cloud or bright sunshine: but he cannot undo what has happened in the past, nor change and undo what the fleeing hour has carried away. Fortune happy in her cruel business and stubbornly playing her insolent game changes her uncertain favours, being kind now to me, now to someone else. I praise her while she stays; but if she shakes her swift wings, I give her back what she has given, wrap myself in my virtue and go in search of honest Poverty, who brings no dowry. It is not my way, if the mast groans under an African gale, to have recourse to wretched prayers and to bargain with promises so that my Cyprian and Tyrian merchandise adds to the wealth of the miserly sea. Then Pollux and his twin will, with the breeze, bring me safe through the Aegean storm, protected as I am by my two-oared dinghy.

Extract 28: Horace *Epistles* 1.1

*prima dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro, 5
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
est mihi purgatum crebro qui personet aurem:
"solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat."
nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono, 10
quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo Lare tuter;
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. 15
nunc agilis fio et mensor civilibus undis,
virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor*

<i>et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.</i>	
<i>ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque</i>	20
<i>longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus</i>	
<i>pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum,</i>	
<i>sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora quae spem</i>	
<i>consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod</i>	
<i>aeque pauperibus prodest, lucupletibus aequae,</i>	25
<i>aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.</i>	
<i>restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.</i>	
<i>non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,</i>	
<i>non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungui;</i>	
<i>nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,</i>	30
<i>nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.</i>	
<i>est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.</i>	
<i>fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:</i>	
<i>sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem</i>	
<i>possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.</i>	35
<i>laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te</i>	
<i>ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.</i>	
<i>invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,</i>	
<i>nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit,</i>	
<i>si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.</i>	40
<i>virtus est vitium fugere et sapientia prima</i>	
<i>stultitia caruisse. vides, quae maxima credis</i>	
<i>esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,</i>	
<i>quanto devites animi capitisque labore;</i>	
<i>impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,</i>	45
<i>per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes;</i>	
<i>ne cures ea quae stulte miraris et optas,</i>	
<i>discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?</i>	
<i>quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax</i>	
<i>magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,</i>	50
<i>cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?</i>	
<i>vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.</i>	
<i>“o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;</i>	
<i>virtus post nummos!” haec Ianus summus ab imo</i>	
<i>prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque</i>	55
<i>laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.</i>	
<i>est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,</i>	
<i>sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:</i>	
<i>plebs eris. at pueri ludentes: “rex eris” aiunt,</i>	
<i>“si recte facies”: hic murus aeneus esto</i>	60
<i>nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.</i>	
<i>Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est</i>	
<i>nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,</i>	

<i>et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?</i>	
<i>isne tibi melius suadet, qui "rem facias, rem,</i>	65
<i>si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo, rem,"</i>	
<i>ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,</i>	
<i>an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae</i>	
<i>liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?</i>	
<i>quod si me populus Romanus forte roget, cur</i>	70
<i>non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,</i>	
<i>nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,</i>	
<i>olim quod volpes aegroto cauta leoni</i>	
<i>respondit, referam: "quia me vestigia terrent,</i>	
<i>omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum."</i>	75
<i>belua multorum es capitum. nam quid sequar aut quem?</i>	
<i>pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui</i>	
<i>frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras</i>	
<i>excipiantque senes, quos in vivaria mittant;</i>	
<i>multis occulto crescit res faenore. verum</i>	80
<i>esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:</i>	
<i>idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?</i>	
<i>"nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis",</i>	
<i>si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem</i>	
<i>festinantis eri; cui si vitiosa libido</i>	85
<i>fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum</i>	
<i>tolletis, fabri. lectus genialis in aula est:</i>	
<i>nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita;</i>	
<i>si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.</i>	
<i>quo teneam voltus mutantem Protea nodo?</i>	90
<i>quid pauper? ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,</i>	
<i>balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aequae</i>	
<i>nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.</i>	
<i>si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos</i>	
<i>occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae</i>	95
<i>trita subest tunicae, vel si toga dissidet impar,</i>	
<i>rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,</i>	
<i>quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,</i>	
<i>aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,</i>	
<i>diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?</i>	100
<i>insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides</i>	
<i>nec medici credis nec curatoris egere</i>	
<i>a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum</i>	
<i>cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem</i>	
<i>de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.</i>	105
<i>ad summam: sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,</i>	
<i>liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,</i>	
<i>praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.</i>	

You, Maecenas, spoken of in my first work and to be spoken of in my last, seek to shut me up again in my old school, although I have been watched often enough and been presented with the wooden sword. But I am not the same age and my mind has changed. Veianius has fixed his armour to the doorpost of Hercules' temple and lies hidden in the countryside so that he does not so often beg for his life from the people on the edge of the arena. There is someone who keeps sounding in my well-washed ear "Be wise and promptly release the ageing horse, lest he stumbles at the last to laughter and becomes broken-winded."

So now I lay aside my verses and other toys; I care about, pursue and wholly immerse myself in what is true and proper; I am storing away and putting in order the things which I can draw on soon. And so that you do not by chance ask me by which leader and hearth I am protected, I am not bound to swear in the words imposed by a master. Wherever the storm blows me, I am carried there as a guest. Now I am busy and plunge into the waves of civil life, as the guardian and firm servant of true virtue. Now I secretly fall back upon the guidelines of Aristippus and try to make things suit me rather than the other way round.

As the night seems long for a man whose girlfriend proves to be false, and the day seems long to those who work for hire, and the year moves slowly for wards who are kept under strict control by their mothers, thus the hours unwelcomely pass slowly for me as they delay my hoped-for plan to do energetically what is advantageous equally to the poor and the rich, but if neglected will harm young and old alike. It remains for me to control and console myself with these principles. You may not be able to see further than Lynceus, but you would not refuse to anoint your eyes, if they are sore. Nor, because you despair of matching the body of undefeated Glycon, would you refuse to keep knotty gout from your hands. It is worth going some way forward, even if not allowed to go further.

Your heart boils with greed and wretched desire. You have the words and sayings with which you can soothe your pain and remove a large part of your disease. You swell with love of praise. There are remedies, which can help you recover if you purely read the booklet three times. The envious, the angry, the lazy, the drunk, the lover, they are none of them so out of control that they cannot be tamed, if they only listen carefully to the recommended treatment.

To flee vice is a virtue and the beginning of wisdom is to avoid stupidity. You see with what effort of heart and mind you avoid the evils which you consider the greatest, a small fortune and the shame of defeat. As an energetic merchant you rush off to the furthest parts of India, fleeing poverty on the sea, through the rocks and through flames. But so that you do not care for those things which you stupidly admire and desire, will you not learn, listen and believe what is better for you? What fighter who tours the villages and the crossroads despises the thought of being crowned an Olympic victor,

who has the hope or the sweet position of being crowned without rolling in the dust?

Silver is less valuable than gold, gold than virtue. "Citizens you must first find money. Look for virtue after money." The arcade of Janus proclaims these words from top to bottom; old men repeat the words and young men with satchel and tablet hanging from the left shoulder. You have courage, you have good morals, you have eloquence and trustworthiness, but you are six or seven thousand short of four hundred thousand. You will be with the plebs. But boys at play say "You will be king, if you do what is right." Let this be our bronze wall to have no feelings of self-guilt, no fault to cause the face to go pale. Please tell me this, is the Roscian law better or the nursery rhyme of children, which offers a kingdom to those who behave correctly, one declaimed by the manly Curii and Camilli? Does the man who advises you "Do what you do correctly, if you can; if you cannot, at least do it," so that you can watch more closely the tearful plays of Pupius, advise you better or the man who encourages you and fashions you to be free and erect as you stand up to overbearing Fortune?

But, if by chance the Roman people were to ask me why I do not enjoy the same court decisions as they and follow or shun what they love or hate, I would reply as the wolf once cautiously replied to the sick lion "because these footprints terrify me, because they all lead towards you, but none return." You are a many-headed monster. For what or whom am I to follow? Some men are eager to farm taxes; some hunt miserly widows with titbits and fruit and entice old men to enter their game preserve. For many their wealth increases with hidden interest.

But let men be consumed by different matters and interests. Can the same men endure one hour approving the same things? "No bay on earth shines more brightly than pleasant Baiae," If a rich man said this, lake and sea feel the enthusiasm of an eager master. If some wicked passion has given him the right auspice, he says "Workmen, tomorrow you will carry your tools to Teanum!" The bed of his Genius is in the hall. He says that there is nothing preferable, nothing better than a single life. If it is not, he swears that only the married are well off. With what knot can I hold fast the changing forms of Proteus? What of the poor man? Laugh! He changes his garret, his bed, his baths, his barbers. When he hires a boat, he is just as seasick as a rich man who sails on his own trireme.

If some barber has cut my hair unevenly, you laugh. If I have a worn under-tunic beneath my brand-new tunic, or if my toga hangs unevenly, you laugh. What, when my judgment is fighting with itself because it scorns what it once desired or seeks to reclaim what it threw away, or is seething and disagrees with the whole organisation of its life, tears things down or builds them up or changes square to round? You think it is usual for me to be mad, do not laugh at me nor think that I need a doctor or a guardian appointed by court, although you are the guardian of my belongings and

are annoyed when a nail of a friend, who relies on you and looks to you, has been badly cut.

To sum up: The wise man is only less than Jupiter. He is rich, free, honoured, handsome, king of kings indeed; chiefly he is healthy except when he has a troublesome cold.

Extract 29: Horace *Epistles* 1.7.

<i>quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum, Sextilem totum mendax desideror. atque, si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem, quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti, Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque</i>	5
<i>dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris, dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet. officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis adducit febris et testamenta resignat. quod si bruma nives Albanis inlinet agris,</i>	10
<i>ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima. non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes tu me fecisti locupletem. "vescere, sodes."</i>	15
<i>"iam satis est." "at tu, quantum vis, tolle." "benigne." "non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis." "tam teneor dono quam si dimittar onustus." "ut libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques."</i>	20
<i>prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit; haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis. vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus, nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis; dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis. quod si me noles usquam discedere, reddes</i>	25
<i>forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos, reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae. forte per angustam tenuis volpecula rimam repperat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus</i>	30
<i>ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra; cui mustela procul: "si vis" ait "effugere istinc, macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti." hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno; nec somnum plebis laudo satur altitium nec</i>	35
<i>otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto. saepe verecundum laudasti rexque paterque</i>	

<i>audisti coram nec verbo parcius absens; inspice si possum donata reponere laetus. haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei:</i>	40
<i>“non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae; Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.” parvum parva decent; mihi iam non regia Roma, sed vacuum Tibur placet aut imbelles Tarentum.</i>	45
<i>strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis clarus, ab officiis octavam circiter horam dum redit atque Foro nimium distare Carinas iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt, adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguis.</i>	50
<i>“Demetri”, (puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi accipiebat) “abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis, cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.” it, redit et narrat Volteium nomine Menam, praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum et properare loco et cessare, et quaerere et uti, gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo et ludis et post decisa negotia Campo.</i>	55
<i>“scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers; dic ad cenam veniat.” non sane credere Mena, mirari secum tacitus. quid multa? “benigne,” respondet. “neget ille mihi?” “negat improbus et te neglegit aut horret.” Volteium mane Philippus vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello occupat et salvere iubet prior; ille Philippo excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla, quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non providisset eum. “sic ignovisse putato me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.” “ut libet.” “ergo post nonam venies; nunc i, rem strenuus auge.”</i>	60
<i>ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus tandem dormitum dimittitur. hic ubi saepe occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum, mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis. impositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum non cessat laudare. videt ridetque Philippus, et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit, dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.</i>	65
<i>mercatur. ne te longis ambagibus ultra</i>	70
	75
	80

<i>quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos, immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.</i>	85
<i>verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae, spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando, offensus damnis media de nocte caballum arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedis.</i>	
<i>quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus: "durus" ait, "Voltei, nimis attentusque videris esse mihi." "pol, me miserum, patrone, vocares, si velles" inquit "verum mihi ponere nomen.</i>	90
<i>quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penatis obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori."</i>	95
<i>qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis praestent, mature redeat repetatque relictia. metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.</i>	

I promised you that I would be in the country for five days, but by staying all August I am proved a liar. If you want me to live sound and in good health, you will give me the same consideration, Maecenas, when I am afraid of being ill that you give me when I am ill. It is the time when the first figs and the hot weather adorn the undertaker with his black attendants, when every father and poor mother turns pale with fear for their children, since carefully carrying out duties and small tasks in the forum bring on fevers and cause wills to be unsealed. But if winter covers the Alban fields with snow, your poet will go down to the sea, take good care of himself and read while huddled up. You, dear friend, he will revisit when the zephyrs blow and the swallows appear, if you will permit it.

It was not in the way in which a Calabrian host bids one to eat his pears that you made me rich. "Please eat some more." "I have had enough." "Well take with you as many as you want." "You are very kind." "Your small children will not despise the little gifts which you will take them." "I am as much obliged by your gift as I would be if you sent me away laden with pears." "As you please; you will leave the rest for the pigs to eat up today." A stupid and wasteful person gives away what he despises and hates; this crop has produced a group of ungrateful people and will do so every year. The good and wise man says that he is ready to help the worthy, and he knows the difference between real and sham money. I shall show myself worthy too of the glory which you deserve. But, if you do not ever want me to leave you, you must give me back strong lungs and black hair on my narrow brow; you must restore the ability to speak gently and make it right to laugh at or lament, as we drink, the flight of insolent Cinara.

Once a thin little fox crept through a narrow chink into a chest of grain, and, when it had eaten, it tried frequently in vain to make its way out with a full stomach. A weasel said to it "If you want to escape from here, you

must go back to that narrow hole as thin as you were when you entered.” If I am reproached by this picture, I give up everything. I do not praise the sleep of a common man when I am full of fattening food, nor would I exchange my wonderful freedom to relax for all the wealth of Arabia. You have often praised my modesty, and you have heard yourself called king and father in my presence; I am no less effuse in my praise when you are not there. See if I can cheerfully repay your gifts. Telemachus, the son of much-enduring Ulysses, was not wrong when he said

Ithaca is not a suitable place for horses, as it does not have expanses of level ground nor does it have much grass: son of Atreus, I shall leave your gifts with you as they are more suitable for the place where you live.

Small things are appropriate for small people: today it not regal Rome which gives me pleasure, but unpopulated Tibur or peaceful Tarentum.

Philip, a strong and brave man famous for pleading cases, while returning from work about 2 p.m. and complaining that it was too far from the Forum to the Carinae for someone of advanced years, caught sight, they say, of a close-shaven man in the empty booth of a barber gently cleaning his own nails with a pocket-knife. “Demetrius,” (this slave was no fool when it came carrying out Philip’s orders) “go, ask and come back with the information of where the man lives, who he is, what his standing is, who his father is or his patron.” The slave went away and came back to say that his name was Volteius Mena, an auctioneer of modest means and free from a criminal record, known to work hard or ease off as appropriate, to make money and to make use of it, rejoicing in his humble companions, a home of his own and the games or the Campus Martius after work was done. “I would like to hear from his own lips all that you report: tell him to come to dinner.” Mena can hardly believe his ears and silently marvels. To be brief. “No thank you,” he replies. “Would he refuse my invitation?” “The rogue does refuse it, as he either is slighting you or he is frightened of you.”

In the morning Philip came upon Volteius selling cheap trash to folk in their tunics and was the first to say hello. He used work and the ties of his trade as an excuse for not having come to his house early in the morning and for the fact that he had not seen him first. “You can consider that I have forgiven you, if you dine with me today.” “As you please.” “You will come then after 3 p.m.: now go and work hard to increase your wealth.” When he came to dinner, he talked about topics of all description until he was finally sent home to bed.

When this man had often been seen to rush like a fish to a hidden hook as a client in the morning and a constant guest to dinner, he was bidden to go as a companion to a county estate near the city when the Latin games were proclaimed. When mounted on a Gallic horse, he did not stop praising the Sabine countryside and its weather. Philip noted this and smiled, as he sought relief from this and sought amusement from any source, gave him

7,000 sesterces, promised a loan of 7,000 more, and persuaded him to buy a small property. He did so. So that I do not keep you longer than necessary with a long story, from being a smart city dweller he became a man of the country and chattered about furrows and vineyards. He looked after his elms, he wasted away with his hobbies and grew old through his passion for acquisition. But when he had lost his sheep to theft and his goats to disease, his crops did not live up to expectation and his ox was worn out by ploughing, distressed by his losses, in the middle of the night he seized his nag and angrily made for Philip's house. Philip, as soon as he sees him looking rough and unshorn, says "Volteius, you seem to me to be too hard-worked and tied up with business." "By Pollux, my patron, you would call me wretched, if you wanted to give me my real name. By your genius, your right hand and household gods, I beg and beseech you to restore me to my former life!"

Once a man sees how what he has given up far excels what he has sought, let him quickly return and seek again what he left behind. It is true that every man should cut his cloth to suit his own measurements.

Extract 30: Horace *Epistles* 1.19.

<i>prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino, nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt quae scribuntur aquae potioribus; ut male sanos adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas, vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae;</i>	5
<i>laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus; Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma prosiluit dicenda. "Forum Putealque Libonis mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis":</i>	10
<i>hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poetae nocturno certare mero, putere diurno. quid? si quis voltu torvo feras et pede nudo exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem, virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?</i>	15
<i>rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi. decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile; quod si pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum. o imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus!</i>	20
<i>libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, non aliena meo pressi pede. qui sibi fidet, dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben;</i>	25

ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
nec socerum quaerit, quem versibus oblinat atris, 30
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
volgavi fidicen; iuvat immemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
scire velis, mea cur ingratus opuscula lector 35
laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus;
non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor. 40
hinc illae lacrimae. "spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus,"
si dixi: "rides" ait, "et Iovis auribus ista
servas; fidis enim manare poetica mella
te solum, tibi pulcher." ad haec ego naribus uti 45
formido et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
"displicet iste locus" clamo et diludia posco.
ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

If you believe old Cratinus, learned Maecenas, no poems which are written by those who drink water can please or live for long. When Bacchus enlisted mad poets among the Satyrs and Fauns, the sweet Muses have usually had the scent of wine in the morning. By his praise of wine Homer is shown to be fond of wine; father Ennius himself never jumped to writing about war except when drunk. "To the sober I shall entrust the Forum and the Puteal of Libo, and take away the right to write from the stern." As soon as I put out this edict, poets did not stop competing in nocturnal drinking sessions and reeking of it by day. What then? If someone was to imitate Cato with a mad, wild face, naked foot and wearing a tiny toga, would he be showing us Cato's virtue and good morals? Trying to rival Timagenes with his tongue destroyed Iarbitas, since he was so keen to be considered witty and eloquent and tried so hard in that direction. An example with faults which can easily be imitated beguiles; but if by chance I turned pale, they would drink cumin which removes the blood. O mimics, you slavish herd, how often your uproar has raised my bile, how often my sense of humour.

I was the first to plant free footsteps on empty ground, as I walked where others had not. The one who believes in himself will lead the swarm. I was the first to show Latium Parian iambs, following the rhythm and ideas of

Archilochus, not the matters and words which drove Lycambes. And lest you crown me with a scanty garland, because I feared to change metres and the art of poetry, the manly Sappho moderates the Muse with the metre of Archilochus, Alcaeus moderates his, although differing in subject matter and arrangement, looking for no father-in-law to smear with dark verses, nor preparing a snare for his bride with slanderous verse. I, the Latin lyric poet, have made well known one which has never been used by anyone else. It gives me pleasure that I have brought matters never known before to the eyes of the noble so that they can read them as they hold them in their hands.

Do you want to know why the ungrateful reader praises and loves my little works at home, but unfairly criticises them beyond their walls? I do not chase after the votes of the fickle plebs with expensive dinners and gifts of worn-out clothes; I am not the one who listens to the writing of noble writers and seeks revenge by deigning to seek support from the tribes of professors of literature on their platforms. This is the source of those tears. If I say “I am ashamed to recite my unworthy poems in your crowded theatres and to give weight to trifles.” “You are joking” says one “and keeping them for the ears of Jupiter: for you think that your lyric poetry alone drips with honey and you are the bee’s knees.” In reply to this I am afraid to sniff scornfully and, lest I am torn by your nails as we fight, I shout “Your position does not please me,” and demand a pause. For such sport brings on frightening strife and anger, anger brings fierce enmities and war than ends in death.

Extract 31: Horace *Carmina* 4.11.

<i>est mihi nonum superantis annum</i>	
<i>plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,</i>	
<i>Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;</i>	
<i>est hederæ vis</i>	
<i>multa, qua crinis religata fulges;</i>	5
<i>ridet argento domus; ara castis</i>	
<i>vincta verbenis avet immolato</i>	
<i>spargier agno;</i>	
<i>cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc</i>	
<i>cursitant mixtae pueris puellae;</i>	10
<i>sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes</i>	
<i>vertice fumum.</i>	
<i>ut tamen noris quibus advoceris</i>	
<i>gaudiis, Idus tibi sunt agenda,</i>	
<i>qui dies mensem Veneris marinae</i>	15
<i>findit Aprilem,</i>	
<i>iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque</i>	
<i>paene natali proprio, quod ex hac</i>	
<i>luce Maecenas meus affluentis</i>	
<i>ordinat annos.</i>	20

As he formed this plan, his other friends, who shared his military campaigns and the events which followed, agreed with him. These friends were Marcus Agrippa, Lucius Maecenas, Quintus Juventius, Marcus Modialius, and Lucius.

(Hall includes a footnote in the Loeb edition to the effect that “L. Maecenas is incorrectly written for C. Maecenas, of whom this seems to be the earliest mention.”)

Extract 33: Livy *History of Rome—Fragments of Book CXXVII.*

Three commentators on Horace *Satires* 1.5.29 refer to Livy Book 127.

Acro ad Horat. *Sat.* 1.5.9: *quoniam inter Augustum et Antonium reliquiae adhuc erant dissensionis, Cocceius Nerva, proavus Nervae qui postea imperavit Romae, mandavit Augusto ut mitteret qui de summa rerum tractarent. ergo missus est Maecenas cum Agrippa, qui utrumque exercitum in una castra coegerunt, ut ait Livius lib. CXXVII. intelligendum autem quod Fonteio misso ab Antonio Augustus Maecenatem et ceteros ad eundem locum emisserit.*

Since some areas of dispute existed between Augustus and Antony, Cocceius Nerva, the great-grandfather of the Nerva who ruled Rome later, instructed Augustus to send men to negotiate the whole issue. So Maecenas was sent with Agrippa and they brought the two armies together into one camp, as Livy states in Book 127. We are to understand that, because Fonteius had been sent by Antony, Augustus sent Maecenas and others to the same place.

Porphyrion ad Horat. *Sat.* 1.5.9: *dissensione orta inter Caesarem Augustum Antoniumque Cocceius Nerva, avus eius qui postea Romae imperavit, petiit a Caesare ut aliquem qui de summa rerum tractaret mitteret Tarracinam. et primum Maecenas, mox et Agrippa congressi sunt, hique pepigerunt fidem confirmatissimam et in una castra conferri signa utriusque exercitus iusserunt. hoc et T. Livius lib. CXXVII refert, excepta Capitonis mentione.*

As a disagreement had arisen between Augustus Caesar and Antony, Cocceius Nerva, the grandfather of the man who ruled Rome later, asked Caesar to send someone to Tarracina to negotiate the whole issue. First Maecenas, and soon afterwards Agrippa joined them, made a very strong agreement and ordered the standards of both armies to be brought together into one camp. Titus Livy relates these events in Book 127, except for the mention of Capito.

Commentator Cruquii ad Horat. *Sat.* 1.5.9: *ab Antonio missus fuerat Fonteius Capito legatus, ab Augusto Maecenas intercedente Cocceio Nerva, proavo Nervae imperatoris, qui et Augusto et Antonio gratus erat, cum Agrippa. ea autem condicione convenerant legati ut de summa rerum tractarent, exortamque dissensionem inter duos imperatores componerent; quod et fecerunt et utrumque exercitum iuxta Brundisium in una castra cum magna laetitia coegerunt, ut infert Livius lib. CXXVII.*

Fonteius Capito had been sent by Antony as envoy, while Augustus, on the intercession of Cocceius Nerva, the great-grandfather of emperor Nerva, sent Maecenas, who met with the approval of both Augustus and Antony, together with Agrippa. The representatives came together for the purpose of negotiating the whole issue and to settle the disagreement between the two generals; this they did and brought both armies together into one camp near Brindisi with great rejoicing, as Livy relates in Book 127.

Extract 34: Propertius 2.1.17–36.

<i>quod mihi si tantum, Maecenas, fata dedissent,</i>	
<i>ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus,</i>	
<i>non ego Titanas canerem, non Ossan Olympo</i>	
<i>impositam, ut caeli Pelion esset iter,</i>	20
<i>nec veteres Thebas, nec Pergama nomen Homeri,</i>	
<i>Xerxis et imperio bina coisse vada,</i>	
<i>regnave prima Remi aut animos Carthaginis altae,</i>	
<i>Cimborumque minas et benefacta Mari:</i>	
<i>bellaque resque tui memorarem Caesaris, et tu</i>	25
<i>Caesare sub magno cura secunda fores.</i>	
<i>nam quotiens Mutinam aut civilia busta Philippos</i>	
<i>aut canerem Siculae classica bella fugae,</i>	
<i>eversosque focos antiquae gentis Etruscae,</i>	
<i>et Ptolemaeei litora capta Phari,</i>	30
<i>aut canerem Aegyptum et Nilum, cum attractus in urbem</i>	
<i>septem captivis debilis ibat aquis</i>	
<i>aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,</i>	
<i>Actiaque in Sacra currere rostra Via;</i>	
<i>te mea Musa illis semper contexeret armis,</i>	35
<i>et sumpta et posita pace fidele caput.</i>	

But if only fate had given me the ability to lead heroic bands into battle, Maecenas, I would not sing about Titans or Ossa piled on Olympus so that Pelion could be a path to heaven, or ancient Thebes or Troy made famous by Homer or two seas joined together at Xerxes' demand or the early rule of Remus or the spirit of lofty Carthage, or the threat posed by the Cimbri and the achievements of Marius, but I would tell of the wars and achievements of your Caesar, and you would be my second theme after the mighty Caesar. For as often as I sang about Mutina or Philippi, where Roman killed Roman, or the naval action and rout off Sicily, or the captured shores of Ptolemaic Pharos, or Egypt and the Nile, brought to Rome with its seven streams flowing weakly in captivity, or the necks of kings surrounded with gold chains, or the prows of ships captured at Actium speeding along the Sacred Way, my Muse would always weave you into those battles, a loyal participant, whether war was starting or ending.

Extract 35: Propertius 2.1.71–78.

*quandocumque igitur vitam me fata reposcent,
 et breve in exiguo marmore nomen ero,
 Maecenas, nostrae spes invidiosa iuventae,
 et vitae et morti gloria iusta meae,
 si te forte meo ducet via proxima busto,* 75
*esseda caelatis siste Britanna iugis,
 taliaque illacrimans mutae iace verba favillae:
 “huic misero fatum dura puella fuit.”*

Whenever, therefore, the fates demand my life and I shall be but a short name on a tiny marble slab, Maecenas, envied hope of my youth, and rightful glory of mine in life and death, if your route by chance takes you close to my tomb, stop your British chariot with its engraved yoke and tearfully offer such words to my silent ashes “a hard-hearted girl caused this poor man’s death.”

Extract 36: Propertius 3.9.1–9.

*Maecenas, eques Etrusco de sanguine regum,
 intra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam,
 quid me scribendi tam vastum mittis in aequor?
 non sunt apta meae grandia vela rati.
 turpest, quod nequeas, capiti committere pondus* 5
*et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.
 omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta,
 palma nec ex aequo ducitur ulla iugo.*

Maecenas, descended from the Etruscan blood of kings, as you wish to remain within the status given to you, why do you send me out onto so vast an ocean of writing? Huge sails are not appropriate for my little boat. It is shameful to take upon one’s neck a burden which one cannot carry, collapse onto one’s knees and soon turn tail. All things are not equally suited to all men, nor is a winner’s prize carried off when chariots are equal.

Extract 37: Propertius 3.9.21–34.

*at tua, Maecenas, vitae praecepta recepi,
 cogor et exemplis te superare tuis.
 cum tibi Romano dominas in honore secures
 et liceat medio ponere iura foro;
 vel tibi Medorum pugnacis ire per hastas,* 25
*atque ornare tuam fixa per arma domum;
 et tibi ad effectum vires det Caesar, et omni
 tempore tam faciles insinuentur opes;*

*parcis et in tenuis humilem te colligis umbras:
 velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus. 30
 crede mihi, magnos aequabunt ista Camillos
 iudicia, et venies tu quoque in ora virum.
 Caesaris et famae vestigial iuncta tenebis:
 Maecenatis erunt vera tropaea fides.*

I have adopted the principles of your way of life, Maecenas, and I am driven to try to surpass your example. Although you could as a Roman magistrate establish the axes of power and dispense justice in the middle of the forum; although you could pass through the hostile spears of the Persians and decorate the walls of your house with weapons which you fix there; and although Caesar gives you the power to do what you do, and at all times you easily accumulate wealth; you hold back and withdraw yourself humbly into the shadows of the background. You give full sail to your ventures when you decide to. Believe me, your good judgment will make you an equal of Camillus, and you will continue to be on the lips of men. Your footsteps will be linked to Caesar's renown: the loyalty of Maecenas will be his true trophy.

Extract 38: Propertius 3.9.57–60

*molliā tu coeptae fautor cape lora iuventae,
 dexteraque immissis da mihi signa rotis.
 hoc mihi, Maecenas, laudis concedis, et a test
 quod ferar in partis ipse fuisse tuas. 60*

As the supporter of my youthful undertaking take up the gentle reins and give a favourable sign to my speeding wheels. This is the glory which you offer me, Maecenas. It is because of you that I shall be held to have been one of your supporters.

Extract 39: Seneca the Elder *Controversiae* 2.4.12–13.

in hac controversia Latro contrariam rem non controversiae dixit sed sibi. declamabat illam Caesare Augusto audiente et M. Agrippa, cuius filios, nepotes suos, Caesar adoptaturus diebus illis videbatur. erat M. Agrippa inter eos qui non nati sunt nobiles sed facti. cum diceret partem adolescentis Latro et tractaret adoptionis locum, dixit: 'iam iste ex imo per adoptionem nobilitati inseritur' et alia in hanc summam. Maecenas innuit Latroni festinare Caesarem; finiret iam declamationem. quidam putabant hanc malignitatem Maecenatis esse; effecisse enim illum non ne audiret quae dicta erant Caesar, sed ut notaret. tanta autem sub divo Augusto libertas fuit ut praepotenti tunc M. Agrippae non defuerint qui ignobilitatem exprobrarent. Vipsanius Agrippa fuerat, at Vipsani nomen quasi argumentum paternae humilitatis sustulerat et M. Agrippa dicebatur. cum

defenderet reum, fuit accusator qui diceret: 'Agrippa Marce et quod in medio est'—volebat Vipsanium intellegi -; fuit qui diceret: 'concurrere! Agrippa malum habebit. responde sis, Marce uterque.' mihi videtur admiratione dignus divus Augustus, sub quo tantum licuit, sed horum non possum misereri qui tanti putant caput potius quam dictum perdere. Latro dignus fuit miseratione, qui ne excusare quidem errorem suum potuit. nihil est autem crudelius quam sic offendere ut magis sis offensus si satis feceris.

In this declamation [The debate was on “The taking in of a grandson born to a prostitute.”] Latro said something that was harmful not to his declamation but to himself. He was declaiming in the presence of Augustus Caesar and M. Agrippa, whose sons, the emperor’s grandsons, Augustus seemed to be on the point of adopting at that time. M. Agrippa was among those who became noble, but were not born so. Latro was debating from the point of view of the young man (grandson) and while dealing with the issue of adoption said: “Now that young man is being taken from the lowest position and is being grafted onto the nobility” and other things to this effect. Maecenas nodded to Latro to point out that Augustus was in a hurry and that he should finish his declamation. There are some who thought that Maecenas did this out of spite, for they claimed that he had done this not so that Augustus should not hear what was said, but so that he would notice it. There was, however, such freedom of speech under Augustus that there was no lack of people who criticised the low birth of M. Agrippa, powerful though he was. He was born Vipsanius Agrippa, but removed the name Vipsanius on the grounds that it emphasised his father’s low birth and became Marcus Agrippa. On one occasion that he was acting as defence counsel in court, the prosecutor said: “Marcus Agrippa and whatever is in the middle”—he wanted Vipsanius to be understood—; someone else said: “Hurry! Agrippa is in for a beating. Reply, whichever Marcus you are.” The late Augustus seems to me to be worthy of admiration if such licence was permitted in his time, but I cannot pity those who think it so much preferable to lose their life than an argument. Latro deserved pity, since he was not even able to apologise for his error. For nothing is crueller than to offend in such a way that an apology will make matters worse.

Extract 40: Seneca the Elder *Controversiae* 9.3.13–14.

omnibus autem insistebat Cesti vestigiis: aequae ex tempore dicebat, aequae contumeliose multa interponebat; illud tamen optima fide praestitit, cum uterque Graecus esset, ut numquam Graece declamaret, et illos semper admiraretur qui, non fuerunt contenti unius linguae eloquentia, cum Latine declamaverant, toga posita sumpto pallio quasi persona mutata rediebant et Graece declamabant; ex quibus fuit Sabinus Clodius, in quem uno die et Graece et Latine declamantem multa urbane dicta sunt. dixit

Haterius quibusdam querentibus pusillas mercedes eum accepisse cum duas res doceret: numquam magnas mercedes accepisse eos qui hermeneumata docerent. Maecenas dixit: Τυδείδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης, ποτέροισι μετέῃ. Cassius Severus venustissimam rem ex omnibus: qui ab auditione eius cum rediret, interrogatus quomodo dixisset, respondit: male καὶ κακῶς.

He used, however, to follow in every way in the footsteps of Cestius: he used to speak extempore and insert many insulting remarks in just the same way; he remained loyal to the principle of never declaiming in Greek, though he and Caestius were both Greeks, and was always astonished by those who were not content with being eloquent in one language so that when they had declaimed in Latin, took off their toga, put on a cloak, returned as if a different person and declaimed in Greek; one of these was Sabinus Clodius, against whom many witty remarks were made when he declaimed in Greek and Latin on the same day. Haterius said to some people, who were complaining that those who taught two things received poor reward, that those who taught translation never received large rewards. Maecenas said: “You could not tell on which side the son of Tydeus was fighting.” Cassius Severus made the wittiest remark of all who, when he was returning from listening to Sabinus and was asked how he had spoken, replied “Badly” in both Latin and Greek.

Extract 41: Seneca the Elder *Controversiae* 10 *Praefatio* 8.

monstrabo bellum vobis libellum quem a Gallione vestro petatis. recitavit rescriptum Labieno pro Bathyllo Maecenatis, in quo suspicietis adolescentis animum illos dentes ad mordendum provocantis.

I shall point out to you a fine little book which you can ask your friend Gallio for. He recited a reply written to Labienus on behalf of Maecenas' Bathyllus, in which you will admire the spirit of the young man who provoked those teeth to bite.

Extract 42: Seneca the Elder *Suasoriae* 1.12.

corruptissimam rem omnium quae umquam dictae sunt ex quo homines diserti insanire coeperunt putabant Dorionis esse in metaphrasi dictam Homeri, cum excaecatus Cyclops saxum in mare reiecit. haec quo modo ex corruptis eo perveniant ut et magna et tamen sana sint aiebat Maecenas apud Vergilium intellegi posse. tumidum est: ὄρους ὄρος ἀποσπᾶται. Vergilius quid ait? rapit

haud partem exiguum montis

ita magnitudini studet ut non imprudenter discedebat a fide.

People thought that the worst thing ever said since eloquent men began to go mad was the statement of Dorion in a paraphrase of Homer, where the blinded Cyclops hurls a rock into the sea. Maecenas used to say that you could see from Virgil how such a decadent remark could be made both grand and sane. It is bombastic to say “a mountain is torn from a mountain.” What did Virgil say? His Cyclops seizes “no small part of the mountain.” In this way he keeps the size in mind while not thoughtlessly departing from the truth.

Extract 43: Seneca the Elder *Suasoriae* 2.20.

sed, ut sciatis sensum bene dictum dici tamen posse melius, notate praeter ceteris quanto decentius Vergilius dixerit hoc quod valde erat celebre, “belli mora concidit Hector”:

*quidquid ad adversae cessatum est moenia Troiae,
Hectoris Aeneaeque manu victoria Graium
haesit.*

*Messala aiebat hic Vergilium debuisse desinere: quod sequitur
et in decimum vestigia rettulit annum
explementum esse; Maecenas hoc etiam priori comparabat.*

But so that you may know that an idea which has been well expressed can be expressed even better, note especially how Virgil more appropriately expressed this very well known phrase “Hector who has prolonged the war has fallen.”

Whatever delay there was before the walls of hostile Troy, it was by the hands of Hector and Aeneas that the victory of the Greeks was delayed.

Messala used to say that Virgil ought to have stopped there because what follows—“and retreated from them until the tenth year”—was merely a way on completing the line. Maecenas, however, thought that it was comparable to what went before.

Extract 44: Seneca the Elder *Suasoriae* 3.5.

solebat autem Fuscus ex Vergilio multa trahere, ut Maecenati imputaret; totiens enim pro beneficio narrabat in aliqua se Vergiliana descriptione placuisse; sicut in hac ipsa suasoria dixit: ‘cur iste in interpretis ministerium placuit? cur hoc os deus elegit? cur hoc sortitur potissimum pectus quod tanto numine impleat?’ aiebat se imitatum esse Vergilianum ‘plena deo’.

Fuscus used borrow many things from Virgil so that he could gain credit from Maecenas; he often related how as a kindness he had pleased him by

using some Virgilian description. So in this very *suasoria* he said; ‘Why did this fellow give satisfaction by filling the role of interpreter? Why did the god choose this man as his mouthpiece? Why especially does he choose this heart to fill with so great a divine power?’ He said that he had imitated the Virgilian “she who is full of the god.”

Extract 45: Velleius Paterculus *History of Rome* 2.88.

dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Caesar imponit manum, M. Lepidus, iuvenis forma quam mente melior, Lepidi eius, qui triumvir fuerat rei publicae constituendae, filius, Iunia Bruti sorore natus, interficiendi, simul in urbem revertisset, Caesaris consilia inierat. erat tunc custodiis praepositus C. Maecenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomens, providens atque agenda sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens, non minus Agrippa Caesari carus, sed minus honoratus—quippe vixit angusti clavi plene contentus -, nec minora consequi potuit, sed non tam concupivit. hic speculatus est per summam quietem ac dissimulationem praecipitis consilia iuvenis et mira celeritate nullaque cum perturbatione aut rerum aut hominum oppresso Lepido immane novi ac resurrecturi belli civilis restinxit initium. et ille quidem male consultorum poenas exsolvit.

When Caesar was putting the final touches to the Actian and Alexandrian wars, M. Lepidus, a young man with more good looks than brains, the son of that Lepidus, who had been one of the triumvirate for restoring the republic, and Junia, the sister of Brutus, entered into a plan to kill Caesar, when he returned to the city. At that time Maecenas, an equestrian of notable lineage, was in charge of the guarding of the city. When matters required vigilance, he clearly went without sleep, and saw and knew what had to be done in advance. At the same time, when there was a break from business, he dripped with the effeminacy of a life of leisure even more than a woman. He was no less dear to Caesar than Agrippa, but less honoured—indeed he was happy to spend all his life as an equestrian—he could have sought higher honours, but did not desire to do so. He kept a close watch on the plans of the headstrong young man while pretending to be doing nothing. When Lepidus had been crushed with remarkable speed and with the minimum disruption to men and the affairs of state, he snuffed out the huge threat of a renewal of the civil war. Lepidus paid the penalty for his evil plans.

Extract 46: Anonymous elegy to Maecenas 1.

*defleram iuvenis tristi modo carmine fata,
sunt etiam merito carmina danda seni.
ut iuvenis deflendus enim tam candidus et tam*

<i>longius annoso vivere dignus avo.</i>	
<i>irreligata ratis, numquam defessa carina,</i>	5
<i>it, redit in vastos semper onusta lacus:</i>	
<i>ille rapit iuvenes prima florente iuventa,</i>	
<i>non oblita tamen sed repetitque senes.</i>	
<i>nec mihi, Maecenas, tecum fuit usus amici,</i>	
<i>Lollius hoc ergo conciliavit opus;</i>	10
<i>foedus erat vobis nam propter Caesaris arma</i>	
<i>Caesaris et similem propter in arma fidem.</i>	
<i>regis eras, Etrusce, genus; tu Caesaris almi</i>	
<i>dextera, Romanae tu vigil urbis eras.</i>	
<i>omnia cum posses tanto tam carus amico,</i>	15
<i>te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.</i>	
<i>Pallade cum docta Phoebus donaverat artes:</i>	
<i>tu decus et laudes huius et huius eras,</i>	
<i>vincit vulgares veluti beryllus harenas,</i>	
<i>litore in extremo quas simul unda movet.</i>	20
<i>quod discinctus eras, animo quoque, carpitur unum:</i>	
<i>diluitur nimia simplicitate tua.</i>	
<i>sic illi vixere, quibus fuit aurea Virgo,</i>	
<i>quae bene praecinctos postmodo pulsa fugit.</i>	
<i>livide, quid tandem tunicae nocuere solutae</i>	25
<i>aut tibi ventosi quid nocuere sinus?</i>	
<i>num minus urbis erat custos et Caesaris opses?</i>	
<i>num tibi non tutas fecit in urbe vias?</i>	
<i>nocte sub obscura quis te spoliavit amantem,</i>	
<i>quis tetigit ferro, durior ipse, latus?</i>	30
<i>maius erat potuisse tamen nec velle triumphos,</i>	
<i>maior res magnis abstinuisse fuit.</i>	
<i>maluit umbrosam quercum lymphasque cadentes</i>	
<i>paucaque pomosi iugera certa soli:</i>	
<i>Pieridas Phoebumque colens in mollibus hortis</i>	35
<i>sederat argutas garrulus inter aves.</i>	
<i>marmorea Aonii vincent monumenta libelli:</i>	
<i>vivitur ingenio, cetera mortis erunt.</i>	
<i>quid faceret? defunctus erat comes integer, idem</i>	
<i>miles et Augusti fortis et usque pius:</i>	40
<i>illum piscosi viderunt saxa Pelori</i>	
<i>ignibus hostiles reddere ligna ratis;</i>	
<i>pulvere in Emathio fortem videre Philippi:</i>	
<i>quam nunc ille tener, tam gravis hostis erat.</i>	
<i>cum freta Niliacae texerunt lata carinae,</i>	45
<i>fortis erat circa, fortis et ante ducem,</i>	
<i>militis Eoi fugientis terga secutus</i>	
<i>terrītus ad Nili dum fugit ille caput.</i>	

<i>pax erat: haec illos laxarunt otia cultus:</i>	
<i>omnis victores Marte sedente decent.</i>	50
<i>Actius ipse lyram plectro percussit eburno,</i>	
<i>postquam victrices conticuere tubae.</i>	
<i>hic modo miles erat, ne posset femina Romam</i>	
<i>dotalet stupri turpis habere sui;</i>	
<i>hic tela in profugos—tantum curvaverat arcum—</i>	55
<i>misit ad extremos exorientis equos:</i>	
<i>Bacche, coloratos postquam devicimus Indos,</i>	
<i>potasti galea dulce iuvante merum,</i>	
<i>et tibi secure tunicae fluxere solutae,</i>	
<i>te puto pupureas tunc habuisse duas.</i>	60
<i>sum memor et certe memini sic ducere thyrsus</i>	
<i>bracchia purpurea candidiora nive,</i>	
<i>et tibi thyrsus erat gemmis ornatus et auro,</i>	
<i>serpentes hederæ vix habuere locum;</i>	
<i>argentata tuos etiam sandalia talos</i>	65
<i>vinxerunt certe nec, puto, Bacche negas.</i>	
<i>mollius es solito mecum tum multa locutus</i>	
<i>et tibi consulto verba fuere nova.</i>	
<i>impiger Alcide, multo defuncte labore,</i>	
<i>sic memorant curas te posuisse tuas,</i>	70
<i>sic te cum tenera laetum luisse puella</i>	
<i>oblitum Nemeæ, iamque, Erymanthe, tui.</i>	
<i>ultra numquid erat? torsisti pollice fusos,</i>	
<i>lenisti morsu levia fila parum.</i>	
<i>percussit crebos te propter Lydia nodos,</i>	75
<i>te propter dura stamina rupta manu.</i>	
<i>Lydia te tunicas iussit lasciva fluentis</i>	
<i>inter lanificas ducere saepe suas.</i>	
<i>clava torosa tua pariter cum pelle iacebat,</i>	
<i>quam pede suspenso percutiebat Amor.</i>	80
<i>quis fore credebat, premeret cum iam impiger infans</i>	
<i>hydros ingentes vix capiente manu,</i>	
<i>cumve renascentem meteret velociter Hydram,</i>	
<i>frangeret immanes vel Diomedis equos,</i>	
<i>vel tribus adversis commune fratribus alvom</i>	85
<i>et sex adversas solus in arma manus?</i>	
<i>fudit Aloidas postquam dominator Olympi,</i>	
<i>dicitur in nitidum percubuisse diem,</i>	
<i>atque aquilam misisse suam, quæ quaereret, ecqui</i>	
<i>posset amaturæ digna referre Iovi,</i>	90
<i>valle sub Idaea dum te, formose sacerdos,</i>	
<i>invenit et presso molliter ungue rapit.</i>	
<i>sic est: victor amet, victor potiatur in umbra,</i>	

<i>victor odorata dormiat inque rosa;</i>	
<i>victus aret victusque metat; metus imperet illi,</i>	95
<i>membra nec in strata sternere discat humo.</i>	
<i>tempora dispensant usus et tempora cultus,</i>	
<i>haec homines, pecudes, haec moderantur avis.</i>	
<i>lux est; taurus arat: nox est; requiescit arator,</i>	
<i>liberat et merito fervida colla bovi.</i>	100
<i>conglaciantur aquae; scopulis se condit hirundo:</i>	
<i>verberat egelidos garrula vere lacus.</i>	
<i>Caesar amicus erat: poterat vixisse solute,</i>	
<i>cum iam Caesar idem quod cupiebat erat.</i>	
<i>indulsit merito: non est temerarius ille:</i>	105
<i>vicinus: Augusto iudice dignus erat.</i>	
<i>Argo saxa pavens postquam Scylleia legit</i>	
<i>Cyaneosque metus, iam religanda ratis,</i>	
<i>viscera dissecti mutaverat arietis agno</i>	
<i>Aeetis sucis omni perita suis:</i>	110
<i>his te, Maecenas, iuvenescere posse decebat,</i>	
<i>haec utinam nobis Colchidos herba foret!</i>	
<i>redditur arboribus florens revirentibus aetas:</i>	
<i>ergo non homini quod fuit ante redit?</i>	
<i>vivacesque magis cervos decet esse paventis</i>	115
<i>si quorum in torva cornua fronte rigent?</i>	
<i>vivere cornices multos dicuntur in annos:</i>	
<i>cur nos angusta condicione sumus?</i>	
<i>pascitur Aurorae Tithonus nectare coniunx</i>	
<i>atque ita iam tremulo nulla senecta nocet:</i>	120
<i>ut tibi foret semper medicamine sacro,</i>	
<i>te vellem Aurorae complacuisse virum.</i>	
<i>illius aptus eras croceo recubare cubili</i>	
<i>et, modo puniceum rore lavante torum,</i>	
<i>illius aptus eras roseas adiungere bigas,</i>	125
<i>tu dare purpurea lora regenda manu,</i>	
<i>tu mulcere iubam, cum iam torsisset habenas</i>	
<i>procedente die, respicientis equi.</i>	
<i>quaesivere chori iuvenum sic Hesperon illum,</i>	
<i>quem nexum medio solvit in igne Venus,</i>	130
<i>quem nunc in fuscis placida sub nocte nitentem</i>	
<i>Luciferum contra currere cernis equis.</i>	
<i>hic tibi Corycium, casias hic donat olentis,</i>	
<i>hic et palmiferis balsama missa iugis.</i>	
<i>nunc pretium candoris habes, nunc redditus umbris:</i>	135
<i>te sumus obliti decubuisse senem.</i>	
<i>ter Pylium flevit sui, ter Nestora canum,</i>	
<i>dicebantque tamen non satis esse senem:</i>	

*Nestoris annosi vicisses saecula, si me
dispensata tibi stamina nente forent.*

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*nunc ego, quod possum: "Tellus, levis ossa teneto,
pendula librato pondus et ipsa tuom.
semper certa tibi dabimus, tibi semper odores,
non umquam sitiens, florida semper eris."*

I recently mourned the death of a young man with my sad epitaph. Now an epitaph must also be offered to an old man who deserves it. Just as the young man deserved to be mourned, so I must mourn for a man whose hair was so white and deservedly lived longer than an aged grandfather. The boat, which is never moored and never tired out, goes back and forth for ever on the vast waters with its load: it snatches away young men in the prime of their youth, but does not forget to claim the old too. I did not need your patronage, Maecenas. It was Lollius then who recommended this task to me; for there was a close bond between you because of your military service under Caesar and your similar loyalty in his service. An Etruscan, you were of royal blood; you were the right hand man of kindly Caesar and kept watch for him over the city of Rome. Although dear to so great a man and all-powerful, no-one felt that you used that power to harm them. Phoebus Apollo and learned Pallas Athene gave you their skills: you were an ornament and source of praise for both, just as a beryl surpasses the common sand, which the wave disturbs on the edge of the shore. The one fault found in you was your casual dress and relaxed state of mind; this charge is disproved by the excessive simplicity of your lifestyle. In the same way lived those among whom lived the golden Maiden, who was driven out and fled later from a too regulated life. You spiteful man, tell us what harm a loosened tunic or its folds blowing in the wind has ever done to you. Did it make him a less effective guardian of the city or any less a hostage of Caesar? Did he make the streets of the city less safe for you? Who robbed you as a lover under the darkness of night, or too heartlessly buried his sword in your side? It is a greater achievement to have had the power to celebrate triumphs, but not to have wanted to celebrate one, and a greater one to have refrained from greatness. He preferred the shady oak, tumbling waters, and a few reliable acres of fruit-bearing soil. Honouring the Muses and Phoebus Apollo he sat chattering among the chirping birds in the gently sloping gardens. Poetic writing will eclipse marble monuments: talent comes from living, everything else will belong to death. What was he to do? He had filled the role of reliable friend, and at the same time he had been a brave and loyal soldier to Augustus: The rocks and fish-filled sea of cape Pelorus saw him provide the enemy ships as fuel for the fire; Philippi saw him fight bravely in the Macedonian dust; he was as fierce an enemy then as he is tender-hearted now. When the Egyptian ships covered the broad straits, he showed bravery around and in front of his leader, as he pursued the retreating back of the fugitive eastern soldier while in terror he fled to

the mouth of the Nile. There was peace at last: its leisure relaxed that way of behaving. When the god of war sits idly by, everything is in accordance with the standards of the winners. The Actian god himself struck the lyre with ivory plectrum, after the trumpets of the victors have fallen silent. He was a warrior then, so that a woman could not have Rome as her marriage-gift in return for her disgraceful prostitution; he fired arrows at the fugitives—so great was the bow he strung—as far as the furthest horses of the rising sun.

Bacchus, when we conquered the dark-skinned Orientals, you drank sweet wine with help of your helmet and in the hour that you were freed from fear your tunics flowed unloosed—you wore two purple ones at the time, I think. I remember, and I am sure that I remember correctly, that arms whiter than reflecting snow carried the thyrsus, and your thyrsus was decorated with jewels and gold so that there was hardly room for the entwining ivy; silver sandals were certainly tied around your ankles, and I do not think that you will deny it, Bacchus. Softer then than usual were the many words you spoke to me, words which were new to the ear by design.

Energetic Hercules, having completed your many labours, this is the way they say you put aside your cares, as you happily enjoyed the company of a tender girl and forgot Nemea and Erymanthus. Could anything be better than this? You twirled spindles with your thumb, as you smoothed with your teeth the rough threads. Lydian Omphale beat you for leaving too many knots and for breaking the threads with your tough hand. The lascivious Omphale often ordered you to wear flowing robes among her spinning-slaves. Your knotted club and lion-skin lie on the ground side by side, while Love dances on them with light foot. Who would have thought that this could ever happen when an active baby crushed great snakes which his hands could scarcely grasp, or when he swiftly severed the heads of the Hydra as they grew back? Or when he tamed the savage horses of Diomedes or the common body of the hostile brothers and their six hostile hands against whom he fought alone?

After the ruler of Olympus had routed the Giants, he is said to have lain asleep well into the bright day, and sent his eagle to look for someone who could fulfil his sexual desires. The eagle found you in a valley beneath Ida, handsome priest, and gently snatched you away in his closed talons.

Such is life: let the victor love, let him have control of the shade and sleep among the scented roses; the conquered will have to plough and reap; fear will control him. He must never learn to stretch out his limbs on the ground. The seasons hand out different tasks and different ways of life; they control the lives of men, cattle and birds. Dawn has come; the bull ploughs: it is night; the ploughman rests; he frees the steaming neck of the ox which has done its work. The streams are frozen; the swallow shelters in the rocks; in spring the unfrozen lake echoes with her singing.

Caesar was his friend: he was able to live a life of ease, when Caesar had achieved all that he wanted. The emperor put up with this because

Maecenas had earned it, but Maecenas is not reckless. We have won our victory, as he was judged worthy by no less a person than Augustus. After Argo in fear had skirted the rocks of Scylla and the dangers of the Clashing Rocks, and the ship had to be moored, the daughter of Aeetes, all-skilled in her magic potions, changed the cut up portions of a ram into a lamb. It would be fitting for you to have the ability to grow young again, Maecenas. I wish that we had the herbs of the woman from Colchis! When trees turn green again, the bloom of their life is restored: so for man does not what was his before come back? Is it right that the timid deer with stiff horns on its wild forehead should live longer? Why do we exist on such narrow terms? Tithonus, the husband of Dawn feeds on nectar so that, although now suffering from palsy, old age can do him no harm. So that your life could last forever thanks to a holy drug, I could wish that you had found favour with Dawn as her husband. You were worthy to recline on her saffron bed and, as the morning dew was moistening the purple couch, to yoke her horses to her rosy chariot and guide them with the reins in your shining hand, to stroke their manes as they look back, since Dawn has already turned the reins as the day moves on.

In this way the bands of young men sought Hesperus, whom Venus attached to herself and released in the middle of his fiery course; you can see him now as Lucifer shining in the dark of a calm night and steering his chariot in the opposite direction. It is he who gives you the Corycian saffron, the scented cinnamon, and the balsams sent from the palm-bearing hills.

Now, Maecenas, you have the reward for your sincerity, since you have been returned to the shades: we have forgotten that you died as an old man. The people of Pylos mourned king Nestor who was white-haired from three generations of life, although they said that he had not fully reached old age. You would have lived longer than Nestor, if I had had the responsibility of weaving your thread of life. Now all that I can say is: "Goddess Earth, lightly hold his bones, by balancing your own weight with his; we shall always give you wreaths, and fragrances; you will never be thirsty, but always decked with flowers."

Extract 47: Anonymous elegy to Maecenas 2.

*sic est Maecenas fato veniente locutus,
 frigidus et iam iam cum moriturus erat:
 "mene," inquit, "iuvenis primaevi, Iuppiter, ante
 angustam Drusi non cecidissem diem!
 pectore maturo fuerat puer, integer aevo
 et magnum magni Caesaris illud opus.
 discidio vellemque prius"—non omnia dixit
 inciditque pudor quae prope dixit amor,
 sed manifestus erat: moriens quaerebat amatae*

5

<i>coniugis amplexus oscula verba manus.</i>	10
<i>"sed tamen hoc satis est: vixi te, Caesar, amico et morior" dixit, "dum moriorque, satis. mollibus ex oculis aliquis tibi procidet umor, cum dicar subita voce fuisse tibi. hoc mihi contingat: iaceam tellure sub aequa. nec tamen hoc ultra te doluisse velim. sed meminisse velim: vivam sermonibus illic; semper ero, semper si meminisse voles. et decet et certe vivam tibi semper amore nec tibi qui moritur desinit esse tuus.</i>	15
<i>ipse ego quicquid ero cineres interque favillas, tunc quoque non potero non memor esse tui. exemplum vixi te propter molle beati, unus Maecenas teque ego propter eram. arbiter ipse fui; volui, quod contigit esse; pectus eram vere pectoris ipse tui. vive diu, mi care senex, pete sidera sero: est opus hoc terris, te quoque velle decet. et tibi succrescant iuvenes bis Caesare digni et tradant porro Caesaris usque genus.</i>	20
<i>sit segura tibi quam primum Livia coniunx, expleat amissi munera rupta gener. cum deus intereris divis insignis avitis, te Venus in patrio collocet ipsa sinu."</i>	25
	30

This is what Maecenas said at the coming of fate, when he was cold and on the very point of death: "Why" he said, "did I not die, Jupiter, before young Drusus' short life came to an end? He was a boy mature beyond his years, youthful, the mighty result of great Caesar's upbringing. I wish that before our disagreement"—he did not finish as his sense of propriety cut short what affection nearly said, but what he meant was clear: dying he sought the embrace of his beloved wife and her kisses, words and touch. "But this is enough: I have lived and I die with you as my friend, Caesar," he said, "and as I die, it is enough. From your kindly eyes some drop of moisture will fall, when you are told the sudden news that I am no more. May this be my lot: may I lie beneath the level earth; but I do not want you to grieve any longer. But I do wish to be remembered: may I live on in your conversation; I shall always exist if you are willing to remember me. It is fitting and I shall certainly live always in your affection and by dying I do not stop being part of you. Whatever I shall be among the ashes and embers, even then I shall not be able to forget you, Caesar. It is because of you that I have lived a luxurious and blessed life; because of you I was the only Maecenas of my time. I controlled my own life; I wanted the life that fate gave me; I was indeed the heart of your heart.

Live a long life, my dear old friend, and take your place in the stars only then: the earth needs you, and this should be what you wish too. May the young men doubly worthy of Caesar grow up as successors and then hand on the family of Caesar in due course. As soon as possible may your wife Livia be free from anxiety; may a son-in-law fulfil the duties of the one who is lost. When you, distinguished for your divine ancestors, take your place among the gods, may Venus herself place you in her ancestral bosom.”

Extract 48: Caesius Bassus *de metris* 4. 8–17.

huic pares sunt apud Maecenatem
“ades” inquit “O Cybele, fera montium dea,
ades et sonante typano quate flexible caput.”
sed quo magis hic versus, quod matri sacer est Idaeae, vibrare videatur,
proximum ab ultimo pedem brachysyllabon fecerunt et Graeci et hic ipse
Maecenas iis quos modo rettuli proximum sic:
“latus horreat flagello, comitum chorus ululet.”

Similar to this [galliambus] are the lines of Maecenas,

“Be present, Cybele, wild goddess of the mountains” he said “be present and shake your flexible head to the beat of the drum.”

But so that this line, because it is dedicated to the Idaean mother, may seem to vibrate more, both the Greeks and here Maecenas himself made the penultimate foot a shorter syllable than the examples which I just gave, such as: “Let her side bristle with shoots, let the chorus of companions shriek.”

Extract 49: Caesius Bassus *de metris* 4. 8–17.

siquis autem quaesiverit quid ita, cum sit galliambicus versus, iambici
quoque nomen acceperit, hoc versu, qui est apud Maecenatem, lecto intel-
get eum ex iambico quoque trimetro nasci:
hic nympha cingit omnis Acheloum senem.

If anyone, however, asked why, although the line is a galliambus, also was called an iambus, by reading this line of Maecenas will understand that it also has its origins in an iambic trimeter:

Here all the nymphs surround old man Achelous.

Extract 50: Seneca the Younger *Epistulae Morales* 19.9–10.

volo tibi hoc loco referre dictum Maecenatis vera in ipso culmine elocuti:
‘ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa’. si quaeris in quo libro dixerit, in eo qui
Prometheus inscribitur. hoc voluit dicere, attonita habet summa. est ergo
tanti ulla potentia ut sit tibi tam ebrius sermo? ingeniosus ille vir fuit,

magnum exemplum Romanae eloquentiae daturus nisi illum enervasset felicitas, immo castrasset. hic te exitus manet nisi iam contrahes vela, nisi, quod ille sero voluit, terram leges.

poteram tecum hac Maecenatis sententia parem facere rationem. sed movebis mihi controversiam, si novi te, nec voles quod debeo in aspero et improbo accipere. ut se res habet, ab Epicuro versura facienda est. 'ante' inquit 'circumspiciendum est cum quibus edas et bibas quam quid edas et bibas; nam sine amico visceratio leonis ac lupi vita est.'

At this point I would like to refer to a saying of Maecenas, who spoke the truth when he was standing on the very summit "There is thunder even on the highest peak." If you ask in what book he wrote it, it is in his *Prometheus*. What he meant to say was that even peaks have thunderstorms. But is any position of power worth so much that you should speak like a drunken man? He was a talented man, who could have given a great example of Roman eloquence, if his success had not weakened and unmanned him. An end like this awaits you too unless you shorten your sail and hug the shore, which he was prepared to do too late.

I could square my account with you with this saying of Maecenas, but you will debate with me, if I know you, nor will you be willing to settle my debt with such a rough and inferior example. As that is the case, I must borrow something from Epicurus to repay the debt. He said "You must consider with whom you are going to eat and drink before you consider what you are going to eat and drink; for a meal eaten without friends is what life is like for a lion or a wolf."

Extract 51: Seneca the Younger *Epistulae Morales* 92.35.

sed tunc quoque cum inter homines est, non timet ullas post mortem minas eorum quibus usque ad mortem timeri parum est. 'non conterret' inquit 'me nec uncus nec proiectedi ad contumeliam cadaveris laceratio foeda visuris. neminem de supremo officio rogo, nulli reliquias meas commendo. ne quis insepultus esset rerum natura prospexit: quem saevitia proiecerit dies condet.' diserte Maecenas ait,

nec tumulum curo: sepelit natura relictos.

alte cinctum putes dixisse; habuit enim ingenium et grande et virile, nisi illud secundis discinxissent.

But when the soul is among the living, it does not fear anything that may happen after death since such things were too little to fear up to death. It says

I am not afraid of the executioner's hook or the mutilation of the corpse which is terrible for those who witness its abuse. I do not ask anyone to perform the last rites for me, nor entrust my remains to

anyone. Nature itself ensures that no-one remains unburied. Time will bury the man whom savagery has cast out.

Maecenas eloquently said “I am not bothered about a tomb, for nature buries those who are abandoned.” You might think that these were the words of a man of action; he did have a noble and manly character, but in prosperity he spoilt that character with laxness.

Extract 52: Seneca the Younger *Epistulae Morales* 101.10–14.

ideo propera, Lucili mi, vivere, et singulos dies singulas vitas puta. qui hoc modo se aptavit, cui vita sua cotidie fuit tota, securus est: in spem viventibus proximum quodque tempus elabitur, subitque aviditas et miserrimus ac miserrima omnia efficiens metus mortis. inde illud Maecenatis turpissimum votum quo et debilitatem non recusat et deformitatem et novissime acutam crucem, dummodo inter haec mala spiritus prorogetur:

*debilem facito manu, debilem pede coxo,
tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes:
vita dum superest, benest; hanc mihi, vel acuta
si sedeam cruce, sustine.*

quod miserrimum erat si incidisset optatur, et tamquam vita petitur supplicii mora. contemptissimum putarem si vivere vellet usque ad crucem: ‘tu vero’ inquit ‘me debilitates licet, dum spiritus in corpore fracto et inutili maneat; depraves licet, dum monstroso et distorto temporis aliquid accedat; suffigas licet et acutam sessuro crucem subdas’: est tanti vulnus suum premere et patibulo pendere districtum, dum differat id quod est in malis optimum, supplicii finem? est tanti habere animam ut agam? quid huic optes nisi deos faciles? quid sibi vult ista carminis effeminati turpitude? quid timoris dementissimi pactio? quid tam foeda vitae mendicatio? huic putes umquam recitasse Vergilium:

usque adeone mori miserum est?

optat ultima malorum, et quae pati gravissimum est extendi ac sustineri cupit; qua mercede? scilicet vitae longioris. quod autem vivere est diu mori? invenitur aliquis, qui velit inter supplicia tabescere et perire membratim et totiens per stilicidia emittere animam quam semel exhalare? invenitur, qui velit adactus ad illud infelix lignum, iam debilis, iam praeus et in foedum scapularum ac pectoris tuber elisus, cui multae moriendi causae etiam citra crucem fuerant, trahere animam tot tormenta tracturam?

So hurry to live your life, my dear Lucilius, and consider each day as a separate life. A man who has prepared himself in this way, whose daily life is complete, lives free from care. But those who live in hope always find that the immediate future slips away and that greed and the wretched fear of death make everything miserable. This is the source of that disgraceful prayer of Maecenas in which he does not refuse to endure weakness,

deformity and last of all the pain of crucifixion, as long as among these misfortunes his life will be extended.

Give me a palsied hand, and a crippled foot, or a hunchback.

Shake my teeth loose. As long as I am alive, that is fine. Keep me alive even if I am fastened to the painful cross.

He wishes for what would be most wretched if it happened, and for a delay in his punishment, as if begging for his life. I would think him wholly contemptible if he wished to live right up to the moment of crucifixion. "But you may weaken my body," he says

as long as life remains in my broken and useless body. You can torture me, as long as my monstrous, deformed body is allowed a little more time. You may nail me up and place me on the seat of a painful cross.

Is it worth so much to press down on your wound and to hang stretched on a pillory to postpone what is the best thing in such a terrible situation, in other words to have the punishment ended? Is it so important to have the breath to do so? What would you hope for in this situation except good-natured gods? What does he mean by such disgraceful, womanish verse? What bargain does he seek with his crazy fear? Why does he so vilely beg for his life? You would think that Virgil had never recited these words to him:

Is dying really that miserable?

He chooses the extremes of suffering, and, what is hardest to bear, he desires it to be lengthened and sustained; what is the reward? I suppose it is a longer life. But what kind of life is a lingering death? Can anyone be found who wishes to waste away during punishment and to die limb by limb and breathe his last drop by drop rather than in one single go? Can anyone be found who wants to be fixed to that unhappy cross, when already weakened, already deformed and swelling with foul tumours on shoulders and chest, when he has already had many reasons to die before being placed on the cross, and to drag out his life when it will bring so much torture?

Extract 53: Seneca the Younger *Epistulae Morales* 114. 4–8, 20–22.

quomodo Maecenas vixerit notius est quam ut narrari nunc debeat quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit, quam cupierit videri, quam vitia sua latere noluerit. quid ergo? non oratio eius aeque soluta est quam ipse discinctus? non tam insignita illius verba sunt quam cultus, quam comitatus, quam domus, quam uxor? magni vir ingenii fuerat si illud egisset via rectiore, si non vitasset intellegi, si non etiam in oratione diffueret. videbis itaque eloquentiam ebrii hominis involutam et errantem et licentiae plenam. quid turpius 'amne silvisque ripa comantibus?' vide ut 'alveum lintribus arent versoque vado remittant hortos.' quid? si quis 'feminae cinno crispat

et labris columbatur incipitque suspirans, ut cervice lassa fanantur nemoris tyranni. 'inremediabilis factio rimantur epulis lagonaque temptant domos et spe mortem exigunt.' 'genium festo vix suo testem. tenuisve cerei fila et crepacem molam. focum mater aut uxor investiunt.' non statim cum haec legeris, hoc tibi occurreret, hunc esse qui solutis tunicis in urbe semper incesserit (nam etiam cum absentis Caesaris partibus fungeretur, signum a distincto petebatur); hunc esse qui in tribunali, in rostris, in omni publico coetu sic apparuerit ut pallio velaretur caput exclusis utrimque auribus, non aliter quam in mimo fugitivi divitis solent; hunc esse cui tunc maxime civilibus bellis strepentibus et sollicita urbe et armata comitatus hic fuerit in publico, spadones duo, magis tamen viri quam ipse; hunc esse qui uxorem miliens duxit, cum unam habuerit?

[20] *haec ergo et eiusmodi vitia, quae alicui inpressit imitatio, non sunt indicia luxuriae nec animi corrupti; propria enim esse debent et ex ipso nata ex quibus tu aestimes alicuius adfectus: iracundi hominis iracunda oratio est, commoti nimis incitata, delicati tenera et fluxa. quod vides istos sequi qui aut vellunt barbam aut intervellunt, qui labra pressius tondent et adradunt servata et summissa cetera parte, qui lacernas coloris inprobi sumunt, qui perlucem togam, qui nolunt facere quicquam quod hominum oculis transire liceat: inritant illos et in se advertunt, volunt vel reprehendi dum conspici. talis est oratio Maecenatis omniumque aliorum qui non casu errant sed scientes volentesque. hoc a magno animi malo oritur: quomodo in vino non ante lingua titubat quam mens cessit oneri et inclinata vel prodita est, ita ista orationis quid aliud quam ebrietas nulli molesta est nisi animus labat? ideo ille curetur: ab illo sensus, ab illo verba exeunt, ab illo nobis est habitus, vultus, incessus. illo sano ac valente oratio quoque robusta, fortis, virilis est: si ille procubuit, et cetera ruinam sequuntur.*

It is better known how Maecenas lived than I need to describe now, how he walked, how effeminate he was, how he wanted himself to be seen, how he did not want his faults to be hidden. What then? Wasn't his speech as ill-disciplined as his dress which was not done up properly? Weren't his words as peculiar as his behaviour, his companions, his household and his wife? He would have been a man of excellent character, if he had behaved more correctly, if he had not avoided being understood, if he had not rambled when speaking. You would see, therefore, the obscene eloquence of a drunken man, rambling and full of outspokenness. What is more disgraceful than "The bank of a stream with leafy trees." See how "Let them plough the channel in their boats and churning up the water leave the gardens behind." What about this? If someone "puckers up his face into the grimace of a woman, bills and coos with his lips and starts to sigh like the lord of a glade acting in a frenzy with head downcast." "A fatal group they search at banquets, tempt households to drink and by raising hope they exact the penalty of death." "A guardian spirit can hardly be witness to his own festival. The slender thread of a wax candle and the noisy mill-wheel. Mother

or wife decorates the hearth.” When you read these things, it would not immediately occur to you that this is the man who always goes around the city with his tunic untied (for even when he was performing the roles of the absent Caesar, a password was sought from a man whose tunic was unbelted); this is the man who on the tribunal, on the rostrum, in all public meetings appeared in such a fashion that his head was covered by his cloak with both ears hidden, just as those running away with wealth usually do in a mime; this is the man who, when the violent civil wars were raging and the city was in turmoil and up in arms, was always accompanied in public by two eunuchs, more men than he was himself; this is the man who married a thousand times, although he only had one wife.

[20] These and similar faults which imitation imprints in someone are not the signs of a luxurious life and a corrupt mind; for they must belong to and be inborn in the person to whom you ascribe them. Just as an angry man will speak in an angry way, an excitable man will speak in a confused way and an effeminate man in a soft and dissolute way. You see this in those, who either pluck out or thin out their beards, or who closely trim and shave their upper lip while keeping the rest of their hair and letting it grow, or wear cloaks of outlandish colours, or see-through togas, or refuse to do anything which may escape the notice of his fellow man; they annoy their fellow men and turn their attention towards themselves wishing them to find fault with them as long as they are noticed. Such was the speech of Maecenas and all others who do not make their mistakes by chance, but knowingly and willingly. This comes from a great wickedness in their soul: as happens when drinking, the tongue does not falter until the mind is overwhelmed by the alcoholic intake and gives way or betrays itself; so that drunkenness of speech (I can only call it that) causes no offence to anyone unless the soul totters. So we must take care of the soul; for our feelings and our words issue from it, as well as our character, our expression and our gait. When the soul is sound and strong, our speech is vigorous, strong and manly; if it falls, everything else comes crashing down with it.

Extract 54: Seneca the Younger *Epistulae Morales* 120.19.

cum aliquem huius videremus constantiae, quidni subiret nos species non usitatae indolis? utique si hanc, ut dixi, magnitudinem veram esse ostendebat aequalitas. vero tenor permanet, falsa non durant. quidam alternis Vatinii, alternis Catones sunt; et modo parum illis severus est Curius, parum pauper Fabricius, parum frugi et contentus vilibus Tubero, modo Licinum divitiis, Apicium cenis, Maecenatem deliciis provocant. maximum indicium est malae mentis fluctuatio et inter simulationem virtutum amoremque vitiorum adsidua iactatio. aliquis

*habebat saepe ducentos,
saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,
omnia magna loquens, modo “sit mihi mensa tripes et*

*concha salis puri, toga quae defendere frigus
quamvis crassa queat." decies centena dedisses
huic parco, paucis contento: quinque diebus
nil erat.*

When we see someone of such steadfastness, how can we not see a type of character to which we are unused, especially if, as I have said, its uniformity shows it to be truly great? Certainly a steady course lasts, whereas false things do not. Some men are first like Vatinius, then like Cato; at times Curius does not seem to them stern enough, Fabricius poor enough, Tubero frugal enough and content with cheap items, while at other times they challenge the wealth of Licinus, the dinners of Apicius, and the pleasures of Maecenas. The greatest sign of an evil mind is wavering and constant tossing about between pretence of virtue and love of vice. A man

often had two hundred slaves, often ten; sometimes he would speak of kings, rulers and everything great, at others 'Give me a three-legged table, a shell containing pure salt, and a toga, which, although it is thick, can keep out the cold'. If you had given this thrifty person, content with so little, a million, within five days he would have nothing.

Extract 55: Seneca the Younger *De Providentia* 1.3.9–11.

veniamus ad Regulum: quid illi fortuna nocuit quod illum documentum fidei, documentum patientiae fecit? figunt cutem clavi et quocumque fatigatum corpus reclinavit, vulnere incumbit; in perpetuam vigiliam suspensa sunt lumina: quanto plus tormenti tanto plus erit gloriae. vis scire quam non paeniteat hoc pretio aestimasse virtutem? refige illum et mitte in senatum: eandem sententiam dicet. feliciorum ergo tu Maecenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio et morosae uxoris cotidiana repudia deflenti somnus per symphonicarum cantum ex longinquo lene resonantium quaeritur? mero se licet sopiat et aquarum fragoribus avocet et mille voluptatibus mentem anxiam fallat, tam vigilabit in pluma quam ille in cruce; sed illi solacium est pro honesto dura tolerare et ad causam a patientia respicit, hunc voluptatibus marcidum et felicitate nimia laborantem magis iis quae patitur vexat causa patiendi. non usque eo in possessionem generis humani vitia venerunt ut dubium sit an electione fati data plures nasci Reguli quam Maecenates velint; aut si quis fuerit qui audeat dicere Maecenatem se quam Regulum nasci maluisse, idem iste, taceat licet, nasci se Terentiam maluit.

Let us turn to Regulus: what did he do to deserve the hand which Fate dealt him as the example of loyalty and endurance? Nails pierce his skin, and wherever he lays his exhausted body he lies on a wound; his eyes are

sewn open so that he is constantly awake: the greater his torment, the greater his reputation will be. Do you want to know how little he regrets having put so high a price on virtue? Put him back together and send him back to the senate: he will stick to what he said. Do you think then that Maecenas was more fortunate, when he sought sleep through the playing of music softly sounding from some way off, since he was troubled by love and wept for the daily divorce from his difficult wife? He allowed himself to fall asleep with the help of wine, distracted himself with the splashing of water and fooled his anxious mind with a thousand pleasures, but he will lie awake in feathers more than a man on a cross; but that man takes consolation from the fact that he is enduring hardship for an honourable reason and considers the cause from his position of suffering, whereas the former is weakened by a life of pleasure and is in difficulty because of an excess of the good life, and is troubled by the reason for his suffering more than the actual nature of his suffering. Surely vices have not yet come so far in possessing the human race that there is doubt whether, if a choice of fate was given, more would prefer to be born as Regulus rather than Maecenas; or, if there was anyone who dared to say that he would have preferred to be born as Maecenas rather than Regulus, that same man, although he is silent, preferred to be born as Terentia.

Extract 56: Seneca the Younger *De Beneficiis* 4.36.2–3.

quod dicere solemus, linguarium dabo. si maius erit, non committam, quemadmodum Maecenas ait, ut sestertio centies obiurgatus sim. inter se enim utrumque comparabo. est aliquid in eo, quod promiseris, perseverare; est rursus multum in eo, ne indigno beneficium des; hoc tamen quantum est? si leve, coniveamus; si vero magno mihi aut detrimento aut rubori futurum, malo semel excusare, quare negaverim, quam semper, quare dederim. totum, inquam, in eo est, quanti promissi mei verba taxentur. non tantum, quod temere promisi, retinebo, sed, quod non recte dedi, repetam; demens est, qui fidem praestat errori.

I shall pay the penalty for my loose talk, as the saying goes. If it is too big, I shall not agree to be required to repay a hundred thousand sesterces, as Maecenas says. I shall compare the two sides of the argument. There is something in sticking by what you have promised; there is again much in the idea that you do not pay a benefit to one who does not deserve it; for how great is the benefit? If it is light, let us ignore it; if, however, it is likely to cause me great loss or embarrassment I would rather excuse myself once for having refused rather than for ever for having paid up. I say that it all amounts to how much store I place in keeping my promise. I shall not only keep what I have rashly promised, but I shall take back what I have not rightly given. A man who stands by a promise mistakenly given is mad.

Extract 57: Seneca the Younger *De Beneficiis* 6.32.2–4.

haec tam vindicanda principi quam tacenda, quia quarundam rerum turpitudine etiam ad vindicantem redit, parum potens irae publicaverat. deinde, cum interposito tempore in locum irae subisset verecundia, gemens, quod non illa silentio pressisset, quae tam diu nescierat, donec loqui turpe esset, saepe exclamavit: 'horum mihi nihil accidisset, si aut Agrippa aut Maecenas vixisset!' adeo tot habenti milia hominum duos reparare difficile est. caesae sunt legiones et protinus scriptae; fracta classis et intra paucos dies natavit nova; saevitum est in opera publica ignibus, surrexerunt meliora consumptis. tota vita Agrippae et Maecenatis vacavit locus. quid putem? defuisse similes, qui adsumerentur, an ipsius vitium fuisse, quia maluit queri quam quaerere? non est, quod existimemus Agrippam et Maecenatem solitos illi vera dicere; qui si vixissent, inter dissimulantes fuissent. regalis ingenii mos est in praesentium contumeliam amissa laudare et his virtutem dare vera dicendi, a quibus iam audiendi periculum non est.

In a state of anger he revealed all these crimes which as emperor he ought to have punished and kept quiet about, because the disgraceful nature of some things even rebounds upon the person who exacts punishment. After a while shame replaced his anger, and groaning that he had not kept quiet about things which he had not known about until it was disgraceful to mention them, he often shouted out “None of this would have happened to me, if Agrippa or Maecenas was still alive!” It was so difficult for a man who controlled so many thousands of men to replace two. When his legions were slaughtered, others were enrolled; when a fleet was wrecked, a new one sailed within a few days; when public buildings were ravaged by fire, better ones rose in the place of those destroyed. But the places of Agrippa and Maecenas were not filled for the rest of his life. What am I to think? That there were no similar men to take their places, or that it was his own fault, because he preferred to complain rather than to look for them? There is no reason for us to think that Agrippa and Maecenas were in the habit of telling him the truth; if they had lived, they would have been among those who dissembled. It is the habit of the regal mind to praise what has been lost when insulting present circumstances and give them the virtue of telling the truth from whom there was no longer any danger of hearing it.

Extract 58: Pliny *Natural History* 1.1.

ex auctoribus Turrano Gracile, Trogo, Maecenate

Authorities include Turranius Gracilis, Trogus and Maecenas (re: Book 9 on fish).

Extract 59: Pliny *Natural History* 1.1.

Cassio Hemina, Maecenate, Iaccho, Sornatio.

Authorities include Cassius Hemina, Maecenas, Iacchus and Sornatius (re: Book 32 on drugs from aquatic animals).

Extract 60: Pliny *Natural History* 1.1.

M. Varrone, actis triumphorum, Maecenate, Iaccho, Cornelio Boccho.

Authorities include M. Varro, the records of triumphs, Maecenas, Iacchus and Cornelius Bocchus (re: Book 37 on the origin of gems).

Extract 61: Pliny *Natural History* 7.148.

Philippensi proelio morbidī fuga et triduo in palude aegroti et (ut fatentur Agrippa ac Maecenas) aqua subter cutem fusa turgidi latebra.

At the battle of Philippi while trying to escape illness he spent three days sick and in hiding in a marsh (as Agrippa and Maecenas state) with his body swollen under his skin.

Extract 62: Pliny *Natural History* 7.172.

quibusdam perpetua febris est, sicut C. Maecenati; eidem triennio supremo nullo horae momento contigit somnus.

Some people suffer from continual fever, as happened to C Maecenas; for his last three years he did not enjoy a moment of sleep.

Extract 63: Pliny *Natural History* 8.170.

pullos earum [mularum] epulari Maecenas instituit multum eo tempore praelatos onagris; post eum interiit auctoritas saporis asino.

Maecenas began the fashion of eating the flesh of donkey foals which was much preferred to wild asses at that time; but after his time the ass lost favour as a delicacy.

Extract 64: Pliny *Natural History* 9.24.

divo Augusto principe Lucrinum lacum invectus (delphinus) pauperis cuiusdam puerum ex Baiano Puteolos in ludum litterarium itantem, cum meridiano immorans appellatum eum simonis nomine saepius fragmentis panis quem ob iter ferebat adlexisset, miro amore dilexit—pigeret referre nī res Maecenatis et Fabiani et Flavi Alfii multorumque esset litteris mandata,—quocumque diei tempore inclamatus a puero quamvis occultus atque abditus ex imo advolabat pastusque e manu praebebat ascensuro dorsum, pinnae aculeos velut vagina condens, receptumque Puteolos per magnum aequor in

ludum ferebat simili modo revehens pluribus annis, donec morbo extincto puero subinde ad consuetum locum ventitans tristis et maerenti similis ipse quoque, quod nemo dubitaret, desiderio expiravit.

In the reign of the late Augustus a dolphin that had been carried into the Lucrine lake fell remarkably in love with the son of a poor man, who used to go from near Baiae to Puteoli for school. When the boy used to loiter there in the middle of the day, he used to call to him using the name “snubnosed” and entice him with pieces of bread which he had with him for the journey. I would be ashamed to tell this story if it had not been recorded in the work of Maecenas, Fabianus, Flavius Alfius and many others. At whatever time of the day the boy called to him, the dolphin would fly to him, although he was hidden and concealed in deep water, and fed on the food offered in the boy’s hand as it allowed him to mount its back, sheathing the spurs of its fin. When he was mounted, he carried him across the great expanse of water to school in Puteoli and brought him back in the same way for many years until the boy died of disease. Then it used to come to the customary place sadly and like a mourner until it too died from longing, something that no-one denies.

Extract 65: Pliny *Natural History* 14.67.

Ex reliquis [vinis] autem a supero mari Praetutiana atque Anconae nascentia, et quae a palma una forte enata palmensia appellavere, in mediterraneo vero Caesenatia ac Maecenatiana, in Veroniensi item Raetica Falernis tantum postlata a Vergilio, mox ab intimo sinu maris Hadriana, ab infero autem Latiniensia, Graviscana, Statoniensia.

Among remaining wines on the Adriatic coast are the Praetutian and those grown at Ancona, which they call sprig-vines because they happen to develop from one shoot. In the interior are the wines of Cezena and those given the name of Maecenas; in the district of Verona are those of Raetia which the poet Virgil places second only to Falernian wine; at the very top of the Adriatic are the wines of Adria; from the Tyrrhenian Sea are the wines of Latinia, Gravisca and Statonia.

Extract 66: Pliny *Natural History* 19.177.

ferro quoque non expedit tangi rutam, cunilam, mentam, ocimum auctor est Sabinus Tiro in libro κηπουρικῶν quem Maecenati dicavit.

Sabinus Tiro in his book *On Gardening*, which he dedicated to Maecenas, states that contact with iron is bad for rue, savory, mint and basil.

Extract 67: Pliny *Natural History* 37.10.

divus Augustus inter initia sphinge signavit. duas in matris anulis eas indiscretas similitudinis invenerat. altera per bella civilia absente ipso signavere amici epistulas et edicta quae ratio temporum nomine eius reddi postulabat, non inficeto lepore accipientium, aenigmata adferre eam sphingem. quippe etiam Maecenatis rana per collationes pecuniarum in magno terrore erat.

At the beginning of his reign, the late Augustus used a signet ring engraved with sphinxes. He had found two such rings among his mother's, so similar that they could not be told apart. When he was away during the civil wars his friends used one to seal any letters or edicts which the demands of the time required to be issued in his name. The recipients made a subtle joke that that sphinx brought problems. In fact the frog of Maecenas was also a source of great fear because it demanded monetary contributions.

Extract 68: Quintilian *Training in Oratory* 9.4.28

quaedam vero transgressiones et longae sunt nimis, ut superioribus diximus libris, et interim etiam compositione vitiosae, quae in hoc ipsum petuntur, ut exultent atque lasciviant, quales illae Maecenatis, sole et aurora rubent plurima. inter [se] sacra movit aqua fraxinos. ne exequias quidem unus inter miserrimos viderem meas. quod inter haec pessimum est, quia in re tristi ludit compositio.

Some transpositions of words and phrases are too long, as I have pointed out in previous books, when at times they are faulty in their structure which is sought for the very purpose of running wild with complete freedom, as in these examples from Maecenas.

Sole et aurora rubent plurima. ("Very many things glow red in the dawn sun.") **Inter [se] sacra movit aqua fraxinos.** ("The sacred waters flow between the ash trees.") **Ne exequias quidem unus inter miserrimos viderem meas.** ("May I never, as one of the most miserable men, see my own funeral rites.")

The worst of these is the last since he is playing with word order when dealing with a sad topic.

Extract 69: *Laus Pisonis* 230–248. (perhaps by Lucan A.D. 39–65)

*ipse per Ausonias Aeneia carmina gentes
qui sonat, ingenti qui nomine pulsat Olympum
Maeoniumque senem Romano provocat ore,
forsitan illius nemoris latuisset in umbra
quod canit, et sterili tantum cantasset avena
ignotus populis, si Maecenate careret.
qui tamen haut uni patefecit limina vati
nec sua Vergilio permisit numina soli:*

Maecenas tragico quatientem pulpita gestu
erexit Varium, Maecenas alta tonantis
eruit et populis ostendit nomina Graiis. 240
carmina Romanis etiam resonantia chordis,
Ausonianque chelyn gracilis patefecit Horati.
o decus, in totum merito venerabilis aevum,
Pierii tutela chori, quo praeside tuti
non umquam vates inopi timuere senectae. 245
quod si quis nostris precibus locus, et mea vota
si mentem subiere tuam, memorabilis olim
tu mihi Maecenas tereti cantabere versu.

The very man, who sings his poem about Aeneas throughout the Ausonian peoples, strikes Olympus with his great reputation and in Roman dialect challenges Homer, the old man of Maeonia. Perhaps the song which he sings would have lain hidden in the shadows of the grove and he would have sung his song on a sterile shepherd's pipe unknown to the public, if he had been without the support of Maecenas. Maecenas did not, however, open his doors to one poet alone, nor did he entrust his patronage to Virgil alone. Maecenas also raised to fame Varius, who shook the stage with tragic gestures, drew out those who thundered out lofty themes and made their names well-known among the peoples of Greece. He also made known the poems echoing on Roman strings and the Ausonian lyre of modest Horace. You were indeed an ornament of the age and worthy of respect for all time, as protector of the Pierian choir and under whose guardianship the poets were safe and never feared old age in poverty. But if there is any place for my entreaties and my prayers have entered your heart, you, Piso, will one day be honoured in my polished verse as my Maecenas.

Extract 70: Martial *Epigrams* 1.107.

saepe mihi dicis, Luci carissime Iuli,
"scribe aliquid magnum: desidiosus homo es."
otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim
Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo:
condere victuras temptem per saecula curas 5
et nomen flammis eripuisse meum.
in steriles nolunt campos iuga ferre iuveni:
pingue solum lassat, sed iuvat ipse labor.

Dearest Lucius Julius, you often say to me "Write something great: you are a lazy fellow." Give me leisure, but of the kind that Maecenas once gave to his friends Horace and Virgil: I would try to write something literary to last through time and to snatch my reputation from the ashes. Oxen do not

want to carry the yoke across unproductive fields: rich soil tires them, but the work itself gives them pleasure.

Extract 71: Martial *Epigrams* 7.29.

*Thestyle, Victoris tormentum dulce Voconi,
quo nemo est toto notior orbe puer,
sic etiam positus formosus amere capillis
et placeat vati nulla puella tuo:
paulisper domini doctos sepone libellos, 5
carmina Victori dum lego parva tuo.
et Maecenati, Maro cum cantaret Alexin,
nota tamen Marsi fusca Melaenis erat.*

Thestylus, sweet tormentor of Voconius Victor, a boy better known than any other boy in the whole world, may you be beautiful and loved even when you put aside your long hair and may no girl please your poet. For a little while, put aside your master's books while I read my little poems to your Victor. Even to Maecenas, when Maro sang of Alexis, Marsus' swarthy Melaenis was still well known.

Extract 72: Martial *Epigrams* 8.56.

*temporibus nostris aetas cum cedat avorum
creverit et maior cum duce Roma suo,
ingenium sacri miraris deesse Maronis
nec quemquam tanta bella sonare tuba.
sint Maecenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones 5
Vergiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.
iugera perdiderat miserae vicina Cremonae
flebat et abductas Tityrus aeger oves:
risit Tuscus eques paupertatemque malignam
reppulit et celeri iussit abire fuga. 10
“accipe divitias et vatum maximus esto;
tu licet et nostrum” dixit “Alexin ames.”
adstabat domini mensis pulcherrimus ille
marmorea fundens nigra Falerna manu,
et libata dabat roseis carchesia labris, 15
quae poterant ipsum sollicitare Iovem.
excidit attonito pinguis Galatea poetae
Thestylis et rubras messibus usta genas:
protinus Italiam concepit et “arma virumque,”
qui modo vix Culicem fleverat ore rudi. 20
quid Varios Marsosque loquar ditataque vatum
nomina, magnus erit quos numerare labor?
ergo ero Vergilius, si munera Maecenatis*

des mihi? Vergilius non ero, Marsus ero.

Since the age of our ancestors has given way to our times and Rome has grown greater under her leader, you wonder that sacred Maro's talent is missing and no-one sings of wars with so great a trumpet. Let there be Maecenases, Flaccus, and we shall not be without Maros: even your own countryside will produce a Virgil. Grieving Tityrus lost his acres close to wretched Cremona and weeps for his sheep which have been taken away: the Etruscan *eques* smiled and drove off malignant poverty with instructions to quickly be off. "Take some money and be the greatest of poets," he said "and you can even love my Alexis." That very beautiful slave-boy was standing by his master's table, pouring with marble-white hand dark Falernian wine, and offering drinking cups touched by rosy lips, which could stir up even Jupiter himself. The astonished poet forgot about plump Galatea and Thestylis with her cheeks burnt red during the harvests. At once he thought of Italy and "Arms and the man," although he had only just mourned the Gnat with his inexperienced mouth. Why should I speak of Varius, Marsus and other poets made rich, whose names it would be a great labour to recount? So shall I be a Virgil, if you give me gifts like Maecenas? I shall not be a Virgil, but a Marsus.

Extract 73: Martial *Epigrams* 10.73.

*littera facundi gratum mihi pignus amici
pertulit, Ausoniae dona, Severe, togae,
qua non Fabricius, sed vellet Apicius uti,
vellet Maecenas Caesarianus eques.*
vilior haec nobis alio mittente fuisset; 5
*non quacumque manu victima caesa litat:
a te missa venit: possem nisi munus amare,
Marce, tuum, poteram nomen amare meum.
munere sed plus est et nomine gratius ipso
officium docti iudiciumque viri.*

Severus, the letter of an eloquent friend brought me a welcome pledge, the gift of an Ausonian toga, one which not Fabricius, but Apicius would have wanted or Maecenas the Augustan *eques*. For me it would have been less valuable, if anyone else had sent it; a victim slaughtered by any old hand is not necessarily acceptable. It comes as a gift from you. If I could not love your gift, Marcus, I could not love my own name. But more pleasing than the gift itself and the name of the giver is the attention and the judgment of a learned man.

Extract 74: Martial *Epigrams* 11.3.

*non urbana mea tantum Pipleide gaudent
 otia, nec vacuis auribus ista damus
 sed meus in Geticis ad Martia signa pruinis
 a rigido teritur centurione liber,
 dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus. 5
 quid prodest? nescit sacculus ista meus.
 at quam victuras poteramus pangere chartas
 quantaque Pieria proelia flare tuba,
 cum pia reddiderint Augustum numina terris,
 et Maecenatem si tibi, Roma, darent!*

Not only does my leisure in the city rejoice in Pipleis, but I do not make these offerings to empty ears. My book is well used by a tough centurion in front of the standards of Mars in frosty Thrace, and it is said that my verses are recited in Britain. What use is that? My little purse gains nothing from that. But what winning lines I could compose and what battles I could extol on my Pierian trumpet, if, when dutiful gods restored Augustus to the earth, they had also given you, Rome, a Maecenas too.

Extract 75: Martial *Epigrams* 12.3.

*quod Flacco Varioque fuit summoque Maroni
 Maecenas, atavis regibus ortus eques,
 gentibus et populis, hoc te mihi, Prisce Terenti,
 fama fuisse loquax chartaque dicet anus
 tu facis ingenium, tu, si quid posse videmur; 5
 tu das ingenuae ius mihi pigritiae.
 macte animi, quem rarus habes, morumque tuorum,
 quos Numa, quos hilaris possit habere Cato.
 largiri, praestare, breves extendere census,
 et dare quae faciles vix tribuere dei, 10
 nunc licet et fas est. sed tu sub principe duro
 temporibusque malis ausus es esse bonus.*

What Maecenas, an equestrian born of ancient kings, was to Flaccus, Varius and the greatest of all, Maro, this, Priscus Terentius, fame that is spread wide and papers which have grown old will declare that you were to me. You fashion my talent, if indeed I seem to have any; you give me the right to enjoy gentlemanly leisure. Be blessed for your heart, a rare quality which you possess, and for your character of the kind which Numa or cheerful Cato might have. To give largess, to provide, to extend narrow means and to give what good-natured gods have scarcely bestowed is now allowed and lawful. But you dared to be good under a harsh ruler and in bad times.

Extract 76: Plutarch *Antony* 35.

Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἔκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα ναυσὶ τριακοσίαις ἔπλει πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν· οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ τῶν Βρεντεσινῶν τὸν στόλον εἰς Τάραντα περιώρμισεν. ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ὀκταουίαν (συνέπλει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῇ) δεηθεῖσαν ἀποπέμπει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔγκυον μὲν οὖσαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον ἔχουσαν. ἡ δὲ ἀπαντήσασα καθ' ὁδὸν Καίσαρι, καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν ἐκείνου φίλων Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικήναν, ἐνέτυχανε πολλὰ ποτνιωμένη καὶ πολλὰ δεομένη μὴ περιῖδεῖν αὐτὴν ἐκ μακαριωτάτης γυναικὸς ἀνθλιωτάτην γενομένην. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποβλέπειν αὐτοκρατόρων δνεῖν, τοῦ μὲν γυναικα, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν· “εἰ δὲ τὰ χεῖρῳ κρατήσκειν,” ἔφη, “καὶ γένοιτο πόλεμος, ὅμων μὲν ἄδηνον ὅτῳ κρατεῖν ἢ κρατεῖσθαι πέπρωται, τὰ ἐμὰ δ' ἄμφοτέρως ἄθλια.” τούτοις ἐπικλασθεῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤκεν εἰρηνικῶς εἰς Τάραντα, καὶ θέαμα κάλλιστον οἱ παρόντες ἐθεῶντο, πολὺν μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατὸν ἡσυχάζοντα, πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς ἀτρέμα πρὸς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἐχούσας, αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ φίλων ἀπαντήσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας. εἰστία δὲ Ἀντώνιος πρότερος, καὶ τοῦτο τῇ ἀδελφῇ Καίσαρος δόντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμολόγητο Καίσαρα μὲν Ἀντωνίῳ δοῦναι δύο τάγματα πρὸς τὸν Παρθικὸν πόλεμον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ Καίσαρι χαλκεμβόλους ἑκατόν, Ὀκταουία τῶν ὁμολογημένων χωρὶς ἡτήσατο τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴκοσι μυοπάρωνας, τῷ δ' ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ στρατιωτάς χιλίους. οὕτω δὲ ἀλλήλων διακριθέντες ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς εἶχετο τοῦ πρὸς Πομπήϊον πολέμου, Σικελίας ἐπιέμενος, Ἀντώνιος δὲ Ὀκταουίαν μετὰ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Φουλβίας παῖδας αὐτῇ παρακαταθέμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεπέρασεν.

But Antony himself, again annoyed by some perceived insults from Octavian, sailed to Italy with three hundred ships; when Brundisium would not receive his fleet, he sailed on to Tarentum. There he sent Octavia, who had sailed from Greece with him, at her own request to her brother. She was pregnant and had already given birth to two daughters. She met Octavian on the way, won over his friends Agrippa and Maecenas and urged him with many prayers and entreaties not to ignore her, a most fortunate woman, and make her the most wretched of women. For she said that all men were watching her as the wife of one triumvir and the sister of another. “But if the worst happened,” she said, “and there was war, it is obvious that one of you will win, the other will lose, but in both circumstances I shall be wretched.” Octavian was won round by these words and came to Tarentum with peace on his mind. Those present saw a wonderful sight of a large army on land remained inactive and many ships lay quietly off shore, while the triumvirs and their friends met and greeted each other in friendly fashion. A meal was eaten with Antony first, which Octavian consented to for the sake of his sister. When they had agreed that Octavian should give Antony two legions for his Parthian war and Antony should give Octavian one hundred bronze-beaked ships, Octavia, independently of their negotiations, asked for twenty light galleys for her brother from her husband, and a thousand soldiers from her brother for her husband. So they separated.

Octavian at once made off to make war on Sextus Pompey, eager to take control of Sicily; Antony, after entrusting Octavia with her children and Fulvia's to Octavian, crossed over into Asia.

Extract 77: Plutarch *Comparason of Demosthenes and Cicero* 3.1

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δύναμις ὁμαλῶς ἀμφοτέρως ὑπῆρξεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων κυρίους δεῖσθαι, Δημοσθένους μὲν Χάρητα καὶ Διοπείθην καὶ Λεωσθένην, Κικέρωνος δὲ Πομπήϊον καὶ Καίσαρα τὸν νέον, ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν καὶ Μαικῆναν ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκεν.

Both Demosthenes and Cicero had the same power to harangue the people and to take part in government, so that those who controlled armies and camps needed them; Chares, Diopeithes and Leosthenes needed Demosthenes: Pompey and the young Caesar needed Cicero, as Caesar himself wrote in his memoirs which he dedicated to Agrippa and Maecenas.

Extract 78: Plutarch *Moralia* 207 C, 6

παρὰ δὲ Μαικῆνα τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις δῶρον ἐλάμβανε φιάλην.

From his companion Maecenas he received each year on his birthday the gift of a drinking-cup.

Extract 79: Plutarch *Moralia* 760.

“Ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον κάκεῖθεν ἂν συνίδοις· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀφροδισίων ἐτέροις ἐκοινωνήσαν, οὐ μόνον ἐταίρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γαμετὰς προαγωγέοντες· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ρωμαῖος ἐκεῖνος, ὃ ἐταῖρε, Γάββας εἰστία Μαικῆναν ὡς ἔοικεν, εἴθ' ὁρῶν διαπληκτιζόμενον ἀπὸ νευμάτων πρὸς τὸ γύναιον, ἀπέκλινεν ἡσυχῇ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς δὴ καθεύδων· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τιнос προσρυνέντος ἔξωθεν τῇ τραπέζῃ καὶ τὸν οἶνον ὑφαιρουμένου, διαβλέψας, ‘κακόδαιμον,’ εἶπεν, ‘οὐκ οἶσθ’ ὅτι μόνῳ Μαικῆνα καθεύδω;’ τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἴσως οὐ δεινὸν ἐστίν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ Γάββας γελωτοποιός.

‘You will see this even more clearly from this fact. Many share their sexual pleasures with others, not only pimping their concubines but also their wives; just like, my friend, that Roman Gabba. He was entertaining Maecenas to dinner and, when he saw him flirting with his wife in response to her encouragement, he quietly turned his head away as if he was sleeping. Meanwhile one of his slaves rushed in from outside to the table and stole wine. Seeing this he said “You wretched fellow, don’t you know that I am only sleeping as far as Maecenas is concerned?” Perhaps this is not so terrible, as Gabba was a buffoon.’

Extract 80: Plutarch *Moralia* Fragment 180 (Aelian, *frag.* 108).

Ἐν τῷ συνδείπνῳ τῷ τοῦ Μαικίῃνα τράπεζα ἐγγώνιος ἦν ὑπὸ τῇ κλισίᾳ τὸ μέγεθος μεγίστη καὶ κάλλος ἄμαχος. καὶ οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπῆνον ἄλλοι ἄλλως αὐτήν· ὁ δὲ Ἰόρτιος, οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τερατεύσασθαι, σιγῆς γενομένης, “ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἐννοεῖτε, ὃ φίλοι συμπόται, ὡς στρογγύλη ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγαν περιφερής·” ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῇ ἀκράτῳ κολακείᾳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γέλως κατερράγη. Πλούταρχος.

At a banquet with Maecenas there was a rectangular table by his couch of very great size and unarguable beauty. As you would expect, guests praised it in different ways. Iortius, having nothing special to say, when there was a break in the conversation, said “My dear fellow-guests, you have not noticed the fact that it is round and of great circumference.” As you would expect, laughter broke out in response to this unadulterated flattery. Plutarch.

Extract 81: Juvenal *Satires* 1.63–8.

*nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadrivio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra* 65
*et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator falsi, qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguas tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?*

Surely it gives me pleasure to fill the capacious wax tablets while at a cross-roads, when a man who put his signature to a fraud is carried past on the shoulders of six men, exposed to view on this side and that in his almost bare litter, a strong reminder of Maecenas lying on his back? This man had turned himself into an elegant and wealthy man with a small document and a damp signet ring.

Extract 82: Juvenal *Satires* 7.94–7.

*quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?* 95
*tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.*

Who now will act as your Maecenas or Proculeius or Fabius or another Cotta or Lentulus? In those days rewards matched talent. In those days it suited many people to turn pale and to go without wine for the whole of December.

Extract 83: Juvenal *Satires* 12.37–9.

*“fundite quae mea sunt” dicebat “cuncta” Catullus,
praecipitare volens etiam pulcherrima, vestem
purpuream teneris quoque Maecenatibus aptam,*

Catullus kept saying “Throw all my belongings overboard.” He was even willing to throw overboard his most beautiful possessions, purple clothes fit even for delicate Maecenases.

Extract 84: Tacitus *Annals* 1.54.

Ludos Augustalis tunc primum coeptos turbavit discordia ex certamine histrionum. indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Maecenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli; neque ipse abhorrebat talibus studiis, et civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi.

The Augustal Games, instituted then for the first time, were thrown into chaos by a fight between the actors. Augustus had countenanced the theatrical shows to please Maecenas who had fallen deeply in love with Bathyllus. He did not, in fact, dislike such entertainment, and thought it a civilised act to include them among the pleasures being offered to the mob.

Extract 85: Tacitus *Annals* 3.30.

fine anni concessere vita insignes viri L. Volusius et Sallustius Crispus.... Crispum equestri ortum loco C. Sallustius, rerum Romanarum florentissimus auctor, sororis nepotem in nomen adscivit. atque ille, quamquam prompto ad capessendos honores aditu, Maecenatem aemulatus, sine dignitate senatoria, multos triumphalium consulariumque potentia anteeit, diversus a veterum instituto per cultum et munditias copiaque et affluentia luxu proprior. suberat tamen vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par, eo acrior quo somnum et inertiam magis ostentabat. igitur incolumi Maecenate proximus, mox praecipuus, cui secreta imperatorum inniterentur, et interficiendi Postumi Agrippae conscius, aetate provecta speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit. idque et Maecenati acciderat, fato potentiae raro sempiternae, an satias capit aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt aut hos cum iam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant.

At the end of the year two well-known men, L Volusius and Sallustius Crispus passed away. ... Crispus was born an equestrian. He was adopted into the family of C. Sallust, the outstanding Roman historian, because he was the grandson of his sister. Although Crispus had a clear path to achieve positions of importance, he copied Maecenas and did not move into the senate, and outshone many who won triumphs or the consulship. He was separated from the ways of past times by his elegance and refinement and was nearer to extravagance in the affluence of his lifestyle.

Underneath all this lay an intellectual vigour equal to demanding tasks and all the sharper because of his pretence of sleepiness and inactivity. So, next to Maecenas when he was alive, and soon in an unrivalled way, he shared the burden of the secrets of emperors. He knew about the murder of Agrippa Postumus. In later years he retained more the appearance of friendship with the emperor than was the case in reality. The same had happened to Maecenas, whether because good fortune rarely lasts for ever, or because one or the other has had enough, the emperor because he has given all that there is to give, the dependent because there is no more that he wants.

Extract 86: Tacitus *Annals* 6.11.

namque antea, profectis domo regibus ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret, in tempus deligebatur, qui ius redderet ac subitis mederetur; feruntque ab Romulo Dentrem Romulium, post ab Tullio Hostilio Numam Marcium et ab Tarquinio Superbo Spurium Lucretium inpositos. dein consules mandabant; duratque simulacrum, quotiens ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet. ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Cilnium Maecenatem equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atque Italiam praeposuit:

For previously, when kings and later magistrates left home, so that there might not be a lack of leadership in the city, it was usual to choose a temporary replacement to preside in the courts and to cope with emergencies. According to tradition Denter Romulius was appointed by Romulus, Numa Marcus by Tullius Hostilius, and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus. Then the consuls took over this task; a trace of this ancient custom is to be seen when a prefect is appointed to fulfil consular functions at the Latin festival. Again, in the civil wars Augustus put the equestrian Cilnius Maecenas in charge of everything at Rome and in Italy.

Extract 87: Tacitus *Annals* 14.53.

abavus tuus Augustus M. Agrippae Mytilenense secretum, C. Maecenati urbe in ipsa velut peregrinum otium permisit; quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romae pluribus laboribus iactatus ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis, praemia acceperant.

Augustus, your great-great-grandfather, allowed M Agrippa to withdraw to Mytilene, and C. Maecenas to retire within the city, as if he were abroad. The former had been his close ally in war, the latter had been battered by more numerous difficult tasks in Rome, but each had received great rewards in keeping with all they had done to deserve them.

Extract 88: Tacitus *Annals* 14.55

abavus meus Augustus Agrippae et Maecenati usurpare otium post labores concessit, sed in ea ipse aetate, cuius auctoritas tueretur quidquid illud et qualecumque tribuisset; ac tamen neutrum datis a se praemiis exuit. bello et periculis meruerant; in iis enim iuventa Augusti versata est.

My great-great-grandfather Augustus allowed Agrippa and Maecenas to enjoy retirement after their hard work, but he had reached the age at which his authority could protect any gift he made, whatever it was; and he never deprived them of the rewards which he had given them. They had deserved the rewards for facing the dangers of war which are what Augustus faced in his youth.

Extract 89: Tacitus *Annals* 15.39.

eo in tempore Nero Antii agens non ante in urbem regressus est, quam domui eius, qua Palatium et Maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret.

At that time Nero was spending time at Antium and did not return to the city before the fire was approaching the house, which he had extended from the Palatine to the gardens of Maecenas.

Extract 90: Tacitus *Dialogue on Oratory* 26.

ceterum si omisso optimo illo et perfectissimo genere eloquentiae eligenda sit forma dicendi, malim hercle C. Gracchi impetum aut L. Crassi maturitatem quam calamistros Maecenatis aut tinnitus Gallionis: adeo melius est orationem vel hirta toga induere quam fucatis et meretriciis vestibus insignire.

But if one had to choose a form of speaking, while ignoring that excellent and most perfect form of eloquence, I would prefer the forcefulness of Gaius Gracchus or the maturity of Lucius Crassus to the flourishes of Maecenas or the jingles of Gallio: it is much better to clothe one's speech in a rough toga than make it notable for the artificial clothes of a courtesan.

Extract 91: Suetonius *Vita Horati*.

ac primo Maecenati, mox Augusto insinuat non mediocrem in amborum amicitia locum tenuit. Maecenas quantopere eum dilexerit satis testatur illo epigrammate:

*ni te visceribus meis, Horati
plus iam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
ninnio videas strigiosorem;*

sed multo magis extremis iudiciis tali ad Augustum elogio: "Horati Flacci ut mei esto memor." Augustus epistularum quoque et officium optulit ut hoc ad Maecenatem scripto significat; "ante ipse sufficebam scribendis epistulis

amicorum, nunc occupatissimus et infirmus Horatium nostrum a te cupio abducere. veniet ergo ab ista parasitica mensa ad hanc regiam, et nos in epistulis scribendis iuvabit." ac ne recusanti quidem aut suscensuit quicquam aut amicitiam suamingere desit.

Then first he won the favour of Maecenas and soon afterwards Augustus, and held no small place among the friends of both. The extent to which Maecenas loved him is evidenced by this epigram

If I do not love you, Horace,
More than my own life, may your friend
Look no better than a skinny rag-doll.

but, there is much more evidence in his final judgment in the following eulogy to Augustus "Remember Horatius Flaccus as you do me." Augustus also offered him the position of secretary as this letter written to Maecenas shows:

Up until now I have been able to write to friends myself, but I am now very busy and in poor health and want to take our friend Horace away from you. He will come, therefore, from that parasitic table of yours to the palace, and will help me by writing letters.

When Horace refused, Augustus neither showed any resentment nor stopped pursuing his friendship.

Extract 92: Suetonius *Vita Horati*.

ad res Venerias intemperantior traditur; nam speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, ut quocumque respexisset ibi ei imago coitus referretur. vixit plurimum in secessu ruris sui Sabini aut Tiburtini, domusque eius ostenditur circa Tiburni luculum.... venerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistula prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi vulgares, epistula etiam obscura, quo vitio minime tenebatur.

natus est VI. Idus Decembris L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus, decessit V. Kal. Decembris C. Marcio Censorino et C. Asinio Gallo consulibus post nonum et quinquagesimum diem quam Maecenas obierat, aetatis agens septimum et quinquagesimum annum, herede Augusto palam nuncupato, cum urgente vi validitudo non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas. humatus et conditus est extremis Esquilis iuxta Maecenatis tumulum.

It is said that he [Horace] could not control his sexual appetite; for his bedroom had mirrors and he placed prostitutes in such a way that, whichever way he looked, he saw an image of his sexual intercourse. For the most part he lived in seclusion in the country on his Sabine or Tiburtine property, and

his house is pointed out in a little Tiburtine grove. ... Some elegies written in his name came into my possession together with a prose letter in which he appears to commend himself to Maecenas, but I think that both are forgeries; for the elegies are not outstanding, and the letter is also obscure, which is only one of its faults.

He was born on 8th December in the consulship of L. Cotta and L. Torquatus. He died at the age of 57 on 27th November in the consulship of C Marcius Censorinus and C Asinius Gallus 59 days after Maecenas had died. He made Augustus his heir by word of mouth, since the sudden violence of his illness prevented him from signing his will. He was buried and laid to rest on the edge of the Esquiline close to the tomb of Maecenas.

Extract 93: Suetonius *Vita Vergili* 20.

deinde scripsit "Georgica" in honorem Maecenatis, qui sibi mediocriter adhuc noto opem tulisset adversus veterani cuiusdam violentiam, a quo in altercatione litis agrariae paulum afuit quin occideretur.

Then he wrote the Georgics in honour of Maecenas, who had helped him against the violence of a veteran when he was little known. He was almost killed by this man in an argument about the ownership of land.

Extract 94: Suetonius *Vita Vergili* 27.

"Georgica" reverso post Actiacam victoriam Augusto atque Atellae reficiendarum faucium causa commoranti per continuum quadriduum legit, suscipiente Maecenate legendi vicem, quotiens interpellaretur ipse vocis offensione.

When Augustus had returned after his victory at Actium and stayed at Atella to cure a throat infection, Virgil read the Georgics to him over four successive days. Maecenas took over reading whenever he was interrupted by a failure of his voice.

Extract 95: Suetonius *Vita Vergili* 37.

heredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum fratrem alio patre, ex quarta Augustum, ex duodecima Maecenatem, ex reliqua L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius 'Aeneida' post obitum iussu Caesaris emendaverunt.

He made his heirs Valerius Proculus, his half-brother, to the extent of one half of his estate, Augustus to a quarter and Maecenas to a twelfth, the rest was left to L. Varius and Plotius Tucca, who edited his *Aeneid* after his death on the instructions of Augustus.

Extract 96: Suetonius *Vita Vergili* 44

M. Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertore, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis, atque ideo latentis.

M. Vipsanius (Agrippa) called him the offspring of Maecenas, the inventor of a new kind of affected language, neither bombastic, nor simple, but in ordinary words, and, therefore, less obvious.

Extract 97: Suetonius *De Grammaticis* 21.

C. Melissus, Spoleti natus ingenuus, sed ob discordiam parentum expositus, cura et industria educatoris sui altiora studia percepit, ac Maecenati pro grammatico muneri datus est. cui cum se gratum et acceptum in modum amici videret, quamquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis, praesentemque condicionem verae origini anteposuit; quare cito manumissus, Augusto etiam insinuat est. quo delegante, curam ordinandarum bibliothecarum in Octaviae porticu suscepit.

Gaius Melissus, was born a freeman in Spolegium, but was exposed because of some disagreement between his parents. He received a superior education through the care and diligence of the man who brought him up. He was given as a gift to Maecenas as a grammarian. When he saw that he pleased Maecenas and was accepted like a friend, although his mother claimed that he was free, he remained in the situation of a slave, since he preferred his current position to his real beginnings. So he was quickly freed and even introduced to Augustus. He was entrusted by him with the task of organising the libraries in the Colonnade of Octavia.

Extract 98: Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 66.1–4.

[Augustus] amicitias neque facile admisit et constantissime retinuit, non tantum virtutes ac merita cuiusque digne prosecutus, sed vitia quoque et delicta, dum taxat modica, perpessus. neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia eius afflicti reperientur praeter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad praefecturam Aegypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatui tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit. sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denuntiationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso laudavit quidem pietatem tanto opere pro se indignantium, ceterum et inlacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci. reliqui potentia atque opibus ad finem vitae sui quisque ordinis principes flouerunt, quamquam et offensis intervenientibus. desideravit enim nonnumquam, ne de pluribus referam, et M. Agrippae patientiam et

Maecenatis taciturnitatem, cum ille ex levi frigoris suspicione et quod Marcellus sibi anteferreretur, Mytilenas se relictis omnibus contulisset, hic secretum de comperta Murenæ coniuratione uxori Terentiae prodidisset. exegit et ipse in vicem ab amicis benivolentiam mutuam, tam a defunctis quam a vivis. nam quamvis minime appeteret hereditates, ut qui numquam ex ignoti testamento capere quicquam sustinuerit, amicorum tamen suprema iudicia morosissime pensitavit, neque dolore dissimulato, si parcius aut citra honorem verborum, neque gaudio, si grate pieque quis se prosecutus fuisset.

Friendships did not come easily to him [Augustus], but he stuck to them very constantly. He not only suitably rewarded the virtues and deserts of each friend, but also condoned their vices and faults, as long as they were not too great. It is not easy, in fact, to find among the whole number of his friends those who fell from favour, except Salvidienus Rufus, whom he had advanced to the consulship, and Cornelius Gallus, whom he had appointed to be prefect of Egypt, each of them promoted from humble beginnings. He handed over the former to the senate to condemn for plotting revolution: the latter he banned from residence at home or in the imperial provinces because of his ungrateful and spiteful character. But, when Gallus also was driven to death because of the evidence of his accusers and the decree of the senate, although he praised their loyalty and their indignation on his behalf, he both shed tears and bemoaned his lot, because he alone could not freely choose the limits to his anger with his friends. All the rest, each leaders of their own class, continued to enjoy their power and wealth until the ends of their lives, even if they sometimes gave offence. Without mentioning others, he sometimes found Agrippa lacking in patience, Maecenas unable to appreciate the value of saying nothing. The former had abandoned everything and taken himself off to Mytilene because he suspected a slight coolness of Augustus towards him and because Marcellus had been preferred to him; the latter had betrayed to his wife Terentia the secret details of the discovery of the conspiracy of Murena. He himself in turn demanded goodwill from his friends both from the living and the dead. For although he hardly ever sought legacies and did not ever bring himself to take anything from a person whom he did not know, he did act peevishly when considering the final assessments of his dying friends. He did not hide his displeasure if their legacy was niggardly or without compliments, nor his joy if anyone had honoured him with gratitude and respect.

Extract 99: Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 72.2.

si quando quid secreto aut sine interpellatione agere proposuisset, erat illi locus in edito singularis, quem Syracusas et technyphion vocabat; huc transibat aut in alicuius libertorum suburbanum; aeger in domo Maecenatis cubabat.

If he ever decided to do anything in secret or without interruption, he used a place on its own high up in the house, which he called Syracuse or his little workshop. He used to go there or to the house of one of his freedmen in the suburbs; when he was sick, he used to sleep at Maecenas' house.

Extract 100: Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 86.2.

cacozelos et antiquarios, ut diverso genere vitiosos, pari fastidio spreuit exagitabatque nonnumquam: in primis Maecenatem suum, cuius 'myrobrechis,' ut ait, "cincinnos" usque quaque persequitur et imitando per iocum irridet.

He found fault equally with those with an affected style and those devoted to the past as faulty in opposite directions and sometimes attacked them for it. He especially found fault with his friend Maecenas, whose writing he used to describe as "ringlets dripping with perfume." He found fault with them any way he could and poked fun at them by parodying them.

Extract 101: Suetonius *Tiberius* 15.1.

Romam reversus deducto in Forum filio Druso statim e Carinis ac Pompeiana domo Esquilias in hortos Maecenatianos transmigravit totumque se ad quietem contulit., privatae modo officia obiens ac publicorum munerum expers.

When he [Tiberius] had returned to Rome and had introduced his son Drusus to the life of the Forum, he at once moved from the Carinae and the house of the Pompeys to the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline. There he devoted himself completely to a quiet life, only engaging in domestic matters, but taking no part in public office.

Extract 102: Suetonius *Nero* 38.2.

per sex dies septemque noctes ea clade saevitum est ad monumentorum bustorumque deversoria plebe compulsa. tunc praeter immensum numerum insularum domus priscorum ducum arserunt hostilibus adhuc spoliis adornatae deorumque aedes ab regibus ac deinde Punicis et Gallicis bellis votae dedicataeque, et quidquid visendum et memorabile ex antiquitate duraverat. hoc incendium e turre Maecenatiana prospectans laetusque 'flammae,' ut aiebat, pulchritudine' Halosin Ilii in illo suo scaenico habitu decantavit.

For six days and seven nights the city was ravaged by that disaster and the people were forced to find shelter in the monuments and tombs. At that time, besides a vast number of tenements, the houses of leaders of old were on fire, still adorned with the spoils taken from the enemy, as well as the temples of the gods, vowed and dedicated by the kings and later in the

Punic and Gallic wars, and whatever else was memorable and worth visiting which had survived from antiquity. He [Nero] watched this fire from the tower of Maecenas, delighted, as he kept saying “by the beauty of the flames,” and sang his “Sack of Troy” in his own stage costume.

Extract 103: Appian *Bellum Civile* 4.50.

Βαλβίνῳ δέ, ἐκφυγόντι καὶ κατελθόντι σὺν Πομπηίῳ καὶ ὑπατεύοντι οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον, Λέπιδος ιδιώτης ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκ δυνάστου γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοιαύτῳ ἀνάγκῃς παρέστη. Μαικίνας ἐδίωκε τὸν Λεπίδου παῖδα βουλευσέως ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ἐδίωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ παιδί συνεγνωκέναι· Λεπίδου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἄρα ὡς ἀσθενοῦς ὑπερεώρα. τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα ὁ Μαικίνας ἐς Ἄκτιον ἔπεμπε τῷ Καίσαρι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα, να μὴ ἄγοιτο οὕσα γυνή, ἐγγύην ἦτει παρὰ τῷ ὑπάτῳ πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀφ' ἱξεσθαι.

Balbinus, however, escaped, came back from exile with Pompey and became consul not much later. Lepidus, who had become an ordinary citizen because Octavian had taken his power from him, came to Balbinus, forced to do so by the following situation. Maecenas prosecuted the son of Lepidus for plotting against Octavian, and the son's mother for having knowledge of the crime; he overlooked Lepidus himself as he considered him to be of no consequence. Maecenas sent the son to Octavian at Actium, but, in order to spare his mother the journey, demanded a surety be given to the consul that she would appear before Octavian.

Extract 104: Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.53.

ὃν ἐνθυμούμενος (ἐλέλεκτο δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ πολλῶν παρθένων ἐς γάμον) ἐπέστελλε Μαικίνα συνθέσθαι Σκριβωνία, τῇ Λίβωνος ἀδελφῇ, τοῦ κηδεύοντος Πομπηίῳ, ἵν' ἔχοι καὶ τήνδε ἀφορμὴν ἐς διαλύσεις, εἰ δεήσειεν. καὶ πυθόμενος ὁ Λίβων ἐπέστελλε τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐγγυᾶν αὐτὴν τῷ Καίσαρι προθύμως.

While he was considering these matters (for many suggestions had been made to him about suitable girls to marry) he wrote to Maecenas asking him to arrange a marriage for him with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, the father-in-law of Pompey, so that he might come to an arrangement with him if need be. When Libo heard of this, he wrote to his family that they should betroth her to Caesar with enthusiasm.

Extract 105: Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.64–5.

Ὡν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τοῦ Καίσαρος αἰσθανόμενοι πρέσβεις εἶλοντο τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἳ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπέσχον ὥς οὐ κρῖναι σφίσι, ἀλλὰ διαλλάξαι μόνον ἡρημένοι, σφίσι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελόμενοι Κοκκήιον μὲν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίωνα καὶ Μαικίναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος, ἐγνωσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμνηστίαν εἶναι τῶν

γεγονότων καὶ φιλίαν ἐς τὸ μέλλον. ὑπογύως δὲ Μαρκέλλου τεθνεῶτος, ὃς τὴν ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρος εἶχεν Ὀκταουίαν, ἐδικαίουν οἱ διαλλακταὶ τὴν Ὀκταουίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐνηγγύα, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοαὶ παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ εὐφημίαι πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἅπαντοι δι' ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν. Ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὖθις ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἅπασαν, ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφίσι Σκόδραν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰονίου μυχοῦ μάλιστα δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, ταύτης δ' ἔχειν τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἕω πάντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔθνη τε καὶ νήσους ἕως ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἄνω, τὰ δὲ ἐς δύσιν τὸν Καίσαρα μέχρι ὠκεανοῦ. Λιβύης δὲ Λέπιδον ἄρχειν, καθὰ Καῖσαρ ἐδεδώκει. πολεμεῖν δὲ Πομπηίῳ μὲν Καίσαρα, εἰ μὴ τι συμβαίνοι, Παρθυαίοις δὲ Ἀντώνιον, ἀμυνόμενον τῆς ἐς Κράσσον παρασπονδῆσεως. Αἰγυπτίῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς Καίσαρα συμβάσεις τὰς πρὸς Ἀντώνιον γενομένας. στρατὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας προσκαταλέγειν ἀκωλύτως ἴσον ἑκάτερον.

When Octavian's soldiers learnt this, they chose ambassadors and sent them to both commanders in turn. The ambassadors ignored their complaints, because they had not been chosen to decide who was right or wrong, but only to restore peace between them. They added Cocceius to their number, as he was a friend of both, Pollio from among Antony's friends and Maecenas from among Octavian's. They decided that there should be an amnesty between Antony and Octavian for things in the past and friendship for the future. As Marcellus, the husband of Octavian's sister Octavia, had recently died, those who were to reconcile them decided that Octavian should betroth Octavia to Antony, which he did immediately. Antony and Octavian embraced. Shouts went up from the soldiers and congratulations were offered to both generals, and did not stop throughout the day and night. Octavian and Antony again divided up the whole Roman empire between them with Scodra an Illyrian city as the boundary line, as they considered it to be the mid-point of the Adriatic sea. All countries and islands to the east of this place were to be Antony's up to the river Euphrates, everything to the west as far as the Ocean was to be Octavian's. Lepidus was to govern Libya, which Octavian had given him. Octavian was to make war upon Pompey, unless they came to an agreement, and Antony on the Parthians to avenge their breach of treaty with Crassus. Octavian was to make the same agreement with Ahenobarbus as Antony had. Each could freely enlist soldiers in Italy in equal numbers.

Extract 106: Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.92–3.

Καῖσαρι δὲ οὐδ' ἐς ἡμισυ τῶν νεῶν περιεσώθη, καὶ τοῦτο σφόδρα πεπονηκός. καταλιπὼν δ' ὁμῶς αὐτοῦ τινὰς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ Καμπανίαν ἦει δυσφορῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλας ναῦς εἶχεν, δεόμενος πολλῶν, οὔτε χρόνον ἐς ναυπηγίαν, ἐπειγόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ τοῦ δήμου περὶ συμβάσεων αὖθις ἐνοχλήσαντος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτωθᾶσαντος ὥς παράσπονδον. χρημάτων τ' ἐχρηζε καὶ

ἡπόρει, Ῥωμαίων οὔτε εἰσφερόντων οὔτε τοὺς πόρους ἑόντων, οὓς ἐπινοή-
σειε. δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν ἔπεμπε Μαικήναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον,
μεταδιδάζοντα περὶ ὧν ἑναγχοῦς ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν
ὑπαζόμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείσειεν, ἐπενόει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὀλκάσιν ἐπιβήσας ἐς
Σικελίαν περαιοῦν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν μεθεῖς κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον συνίστασθαι.
οὕτω δ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντι αὐτῷ ἀγγέλλεται ὁ Ἀντώνιος συνθέμενος συμμαχήσειν
καὶ νίκη κατὰ Κελτῶν τῶν Ἀκυιτανῶν ἐπιφανής, ἣν Ἀγρίππας ἄγωνέφανη. οἷ
τε φίλοι καὶ τῶν πόλεων τινες αὐτῷ ναῦς ὑπισχυοῦντο καὶ ἐποιοῦν. Ὁ μὲν δὴ
καὶ τῆς λύπης ἀνίη καὶ λαμπροτέραν τῆς προτέρας παρασκευῆς συνεπήγγυντο·
ἀρχομένου δ' ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τάραντα διέπλει ναυσὶ τρια-
κοσίαις, τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπέσχητο, ὁ δ' ἐνήλλακτο τὴν γνώμην
καὶ ἐς τὰς ἑτι γινομένας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἀνεβάλλετο. καλούμενος δὲ αὐθις ὡς ἐπὶ
ἔτοιμα καὶ ἀρκούντα τὰ Ἀντωνίου, ἐτέρας ἀσχολίας προὔφερε καὶ δηλὸς ἦν ἡ
αὐθις ἐπιμεμφόμενος τι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἢ τῆς συμμαχίας διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τὴν
οἰκείαν ὑπερορῶν. χαλεπαίνων δ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπέμενεν ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐθις αὐτὸν
ἐκάλει· τῇ τε γὰρ χορηγία τοῦ ναυτικοῦ κάμνων καὶ στρατοῦ χρήζων ἐπὶ
Παρθυαίους Ἰταλοῦ, Καίσαρι τὰς ναῦς ἐπενόει διαλλάξαι, εἰρημένον μὲν ἐν
ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκάτερον ξενολογεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δυσχερὲς δ' ἐσόμενον
αὐτῷ Καίσαρος τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰληχότος. Ὀκταουία οὖν ἔχουσι πρὸς Καίσαρα
διαιτήσουσα αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐγκαταλελειφθαι τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔλεγε τοῖς ἐν
πορθμῷ καταλαβοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλελῦσθαι τοῦτο διὰ Μαικῆνα. ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἀντώ-
νιον ἔφη καὶ Καλλίαν ἀπελεύθερον ἐς Λέπιδον ἐκπέμψαι, συντιθέμενον τῷ
Λεπίδῳ κατὰ Καίσαρος, ἡ δὲ συνειδέναί Καλλίαν περὶ γάμων ἀπεσταλμένον·
βουλευθῆναι γὰρ Ἀντώνιον πρὸ τῶν Παρθυικῶν ἐκδεδοῖσθαι τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ
παιδί Λεπίδου, καθάπερ ὡμολόγητο.

Less than half of Octavian's ships were saved, and even these were badly damaged. He left some men there in charge of them, while he went to Campania heavy in heart; for he did not have other ships, although he needed many, nor did he have time to repair them, as he was under such pressure from hunger and the people, who were again urging him to come to terms and mocking him for prosecuting a war contrary to the treaty. He needed money, but had none. The Romans were not paying taxes, nor would they allow him to use the revenue which he had planned. But, as he was always clever at seeing what was expedient, he sent Maecenas to Antony to change his mind about matters for which they had recently blamed each other, and to arrange an alliance. If Maecenas could not persuade Antony, he intended to embark his legions on merchant ships, cross over to Sicily, abandon the fight at sea and continue the war on land. When he was in this state of despondency, news came that Antony had agreed to the alliance and that there had been a famous victory over the Gauls of Aquitania under the leadership of Agrippa. His friends and some cities promised him ships and built them. He cast off his mood of despondency and made more thorough preparations than he had in the previous year. At the beginning of spring Antony sailed from Athens to

Tarentum with three hundred ships to assist Octavian as he had promised, but Octavian had changed his mind and decided to wait for his own ships to be built. When a further message reached him that Antony's forces were ready and sufficient, he put forward other reasons for a delay either because he had some other reason to blame Antony or because he was ignoring him as his own forces were now sufficient. Antony took offence, but remained where he was and sent a further message to Octavian; for the cost of maintaining the fleet was a burden and he needed Italian soldiers for his expedition against Parthia. He intended to exchange some of his ships for some of Octavian's soldiers, for, although it had been written in their treaty that each could enrol troops in Italy, it would be difficult for him to do so since Italy had been allocated to Octavian. So Octavia went to Octavian to try to mediate between them. He complained that he had been abandoned by Antony when he was overtaken by danger in the straits; she replied that had been explained by Maecenas. Octavian said that Antony had sent his freedman Callias to Lepidus to make an alliance against Octavian; she replied that Callias had been sent to arrange a marriage, since Antony wanted to give his daughter in marriage to the son of Lepidus, as had been arranged, before he left for Parthia.

Extract 107: Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.99.

Ἐνδόντος δέ ποτε τοῦ κακοῦ τὰ νεκρά ἔθαπτεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἐθεράπευε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκνέοντας ἐνέδνε, καὶ ὥπλιζεν ἑτέροις ὅπλοις, καὶ τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ἀνελάμβανε. διεφθάρато δ' αὐτῷ νῆες βαρεῖαι μὲν ἕξ, κουφότεραι δὲ ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι, λιβυρνίδες δὲ ἔτι πλείους. καὶ ἐς τὰδε διορθούμενα τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἀναλώσειν ἔμελλεν, ἥδη τοῦ θέρους προκόπτοντος· ὅθεν ἦν ἄριστον αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς τὸ μέλλον θέρος ἀναβαλέσθαι. ἐνοχλουμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ἐπεσκεύαζε τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀνέλκων μετὰ ἐπειζέως καὶ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν διεφθαρμένων ἐς τὰς παρὰ Ταύρω ναῦς κενὰς ἐξέπεμπε. ὥς δὲ ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ μείζονι, Μαικίναν μὲν ἐς Ρώμην ἐξέπεμπε διὰ τοὺς ἐπτοημένους ἔτι πρὸς τὴν μνήμην Πομπηίου Μάγνου· οὐ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐξέλιπεν ἡ δόξα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου· τοὺς δὲ κληρούχους αὐτὸς ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπέτρεχε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φόβου τῶν γεγονότων ἀνελάμβανε. διέδραμε δὲ καὶ ἐς Τάραντα καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν εἶδε τὸ ὑπὸ Ταύρῳ, καὶ ἐς Ἰπώνειον ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πεζᾷ παρηγόρησε καὶ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἐπισκευὴν ἐπέσπερχεν. καὶ πλησίον ἦν ἥδη καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπ' πλοῦς.

When the storm abated, Octavian buried the dead, looked after the wounded, gave clothes to those who had swum ashore, gave them new weapons, and repaired the whole fleet with what was available. Six of his heavy ships, twenty-six lighter ones and still more Liburnian galleys had been destroyed. He would have to spend about thirty days doing this. Summer was well advanced, and he decided that it was best to postpone the war until the next summer. But, because the people were suffering from scarcity of food, he hurried to repair

the ships when he had dragged them onto the shore and sent the crews from the ships which had been destroyed to the unmanned ones with Taurus. In anticipation of greater hardship he sent Maecenas to Rome to deal with those who were still inspired by the memory of Pompey the Great; the fame of this man had not yet left them. He himself visited the colonies in Italy and dispelled the fears which had arisen because of recent events. He went quickly to Tarentum and inspected the fleet under Taurus. He went on to Hipponium where he exhorted the soldiers and hurried up the equipping of his ships. Already the second invasion of Sicily was at hand.

Extract 108: Appian *Bellum Civile* 5.112.

θεραπέυσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος ὀλίγον ἐς Στυλίδα νυκτὸς ἐξήκει, παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσάλα, πρὸς Καρρίναν τρία ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τοῦ πρό-
πλου τέλη· καὶ τῷδε μὲν ἐκέλευσε διαπλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέραν, ἔνθα καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐμελλε διαπλευσεῖσθαι, Ἀγρίππαν δὲ γράφων ἡξίου κινδυνεύοντι Κορνιφικίῳ
πέμπειν Λαρόνιον μετὰ στρατιᾶς ὀξέως. Μαικήναν δ' αὖθις ἐς Ρώμην ἔπεμπε
διὰ τοὺς νεωτερίζοντας· καὶ τινες παρακινούντες ἐκολάσθησαν. καὶ Μεσσά-
λαν ἐς Δικαιάρχειαν ἔπεμπε, ἄγειν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον τέλος ἐς
Ἰππώνειον.

Octavian, having taken care of his body and rested for a while, went by night to Styliis, accompanied by Messala, where Carinas who commanded three legions was ready for the crossing. He ordered him to sail across the strait and said that he would follow him. He wrote to Agrippa asking him to send Laronius with an army very quickly to help Cornificius who was in danger. He again sent Maecenas to Rome to counter revolutionaries; some who were causing trouble were punished. He sent Messala to Puteoli to bring the first legion to Hipponium.

Extract 109: Fronto *Epistulae ad M. Caesarem* 2.2.5.

*plane multum mihi facetiarum contulit istic Horatius Flaccus, memorabilis
poeta mihique propter Maecenatem ac Maecenatianos hortos meos non
alienus.*

Clearly Horatius Flaccus provided me with many clever things to say on that subject. He was a memorable poet and not unknown to me because of Maecenas and my Maecenaean gardens [Fronto now owned the gardens].

Extract 110: Pseudo-Acron *Introduction to commentary on Horace*.

[There are many mentions of Maecenas in the commentary of Pseudo-Acron. Four of them are merely the title which is given to the poem (*Carm.* 2.12; 2.20; 3.16; 3.29). Where the comment of Pseudo-Acron is a quotation from Horace's poem, it is shown in bold.]

In his introduction Pseudo-Acron summed up Horace's life, including this passage.

coluitque adolescens Brutum, sub quo tribunus militum civili bello militavit, captusque a Caesare. post magnum tempus beneficiis Maecenatis non solum servatus sed etiam in amicitiam receptus est. quapropter Maecenati Augusto in omnibus scriptis suis venerabiliter assurgit.

As a young man he supported Brutus under whom he served as a military tribune during the civil war and was captured by (Augustus) Caesar. After a considerable time he was not only saved by the generosity of Maecenas but was even accepted into his friendship. So he respectfully addressed both Maecenas and Augustus in all his poetry.

Extract 111: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 1.1.*

est inter Tanaim) Tanais libertus Maecenatis nobilissimus spado, socer autem Viselii herniosi ac si diceret multum interest inter eunuchum ac herniosum, id est ramicosum et spadosum.

est inter Tanaim) Tanais, the freedman of Maecenas, is a famous eunuch, the father-in-law of Viselius has an enlarged scrotum and so he would say that there is much difference between the eunuch and the man with the enlarged scrotum [both infertile], one suffering from varicocele and the other having no scrotum.

Extract 112: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 1.3.*

cum genus hoc) cum in genere huius vitae versetur insidiorum. *simplicior etc.)* ordo est: si quis simplicior est qualem me tibi obtulerim, o Maecenas, hunc appellant molestum et stultum. sensus vero his est: si quis libere et sine observatione temporis appellaverit amicum suum, hunc dicunt stultum et molestum. si quis est simplex ut legentem aut cogitantem molestus interpellat, statim eum carere communi sensu dicimus.

cum genus hoc) since we live our lives surrounded by such ambushes. *simplicior etc.)* The order is: if anyone is more ingenuous than the man I present myself to you as being, Maecenas, they call him troublesome and stupid. But the sense of this is: if anyone accosts his friend without restraint and observance of the conventions of the age, they call him stupid and troublesome. If anyone is ingenuous so that he interrupts in a troublesome way someone reading or thinking, we immediately say he lacks common sense.

Extract 113: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 1.6.*

non quia Maecenas) deest habes. Maecenatem alloquitur candorem animi eius commemorans, qui generosos atque humiles absque discriminine

*accipiat. Lydi quondam Tusciam possederunt a quibus originem Maecenas trahebat. sensus hic est: non te, inquit, extollit nobilitas generis et sanguinis ut despicias eos qui ex infimis nati sunt, sciens quod non genus, sed virtus in homine est quaerenda. non quia habes Hetruscos fines quos incolunt quicquid Lydorum fuit: nec eo quia nemo est generosior; id est, neque quia nobilis es, ideo derides ignobiles et libertinos; nec ideo quod impavit pater tuus et avus, irrides ignotos pauperes vel ignobiles nec ignoti tibi fastidia afferent, quod vulgo sannam dicunt. **persuades hoc tibi vere**) recte, inquit, hoc tibi persuades, o Maecenas, quod ante imperium Tulli qui unus ex septem regibus servili tamen genere fuit, alii multi ignobiles sed viri boni et vitae optima. sensus hic est: recte hoc sentis non nobilitatem magni pendis, sed virtutem.*

***non quia Maecenas**)* ‘You have’ is missing. He is addressing Maecenas, placing on record the purity of his mind, since he treats the noble born and the humble in the same way. The Lydians, from whom Maecenas was descended, once possessed Etruria. The meaning is this: he said that the nobility of your bloodline has not raised you to despise those who are of humble birth, knowing that we should not look for lineage, but for virtue in a man. Not because you have Etruscan territory which was once inhabited by the Lydians; nor, just as your father and grandfather did not fear it, do you make fun of the unknown poor or those of lowly birth nor are the unknown repugnant to you, which they commonly call a sneer. ***persuades hoc tibi vere**)* He says that you are right to persuade yourself that this is true, Maecenas, because even before the rule of Tullius, one of the seven kings who was born a slave, there were many other lowly born men of good character who lived excellent lives. The sense is: you rightly think this that you value virtue more than nobility.

Extract 114: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 1.8.*

***importunas**) quae hortis noceant. **vetatque novis**) novis quia semper exercentur nova cultura, aut propter recentem dedicationem Maecenatis novis, hoc est nuper institutis, aut recens satis, quia antea sepulchra erant in hoc loco in quo nunc sunt horti Maecenatis, ubi sunt modo thermae. ante enim tanta misericordia tenebantur maiores ut etiam publica monumenta pauperibus et servis aedificarent. pauperum vel servorum cadavera hic olim sepeliebantur. nam ideo subdit conservis. soliti erant carnifices in Esquilina via puteos facere, in quos corpora mittebant. **huc**) ad illum locum in quo Priapus stabat. huc alioquin cadavera portabantur plebeiorum sive servorum. nam sepulchra publica erant antea, modo Maecenatis horti.*

***importunas**)* which harm the gardens. ***vetatque novis**)* They are new since they are always being cultivated by new methods or because of a recent dedication of Maecenas to innovations, that is recently undertaken, or sufficiently recently, since there were graves in the place where Maecenas’ gardens are now, where there are baths now. Before it came to

prominence our ancestors in pity held the land so that they could build public memorials for the poor and slaves. At one time the bodies of the poor and slaves were buried here. He did not therefore expose it to other slaves. Executioners used to make pits on the Esquiline road into which they threw corpses. *huc*) to that place in which Priapus stood. To here at times the corpses of the plebs or slaves were brought. For the burial ground was public before, but now makes up the gardens of Maecenas.

Extract 115: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 1.9.*

et Maecenas quomodo tecum) *deest ait. initium locutionis fuit et coepit interrogare quomodo circa te Maecenas est. haberes magnum adiutorem*) *id est haberes apud Maecenatem qui tueretur partes tuas, si me ei commendare velles. dispeream*) *id est valde peream si non removisses omnes ab amicitia Maecenatis. nil mi officit inquam*) *hic est quicumque est ditior non officit mihi in domo Maecenatis. et est qui vinci possit*) *hic est, inquit, Maecenas cui si saepe instes vincatur. Persius: 'omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit'. et nunc iucunde ex alterius persona eum reprehendit.*

et Maecenas quomodo tecum) 'said' is missing. A conversation had begun and he began to ask how things were between Maecenas and you. *haberes magnum adiutorem*) In other words 'You have in Maecenas someone who will support your case, if you wished to recommend me to him'. *dispeream*) In other words 'I would die if you had not removed all of Maecenas' other friends'. *nil mi officit inquam*) That is to say 'Whoever is richer does no harm to me in Maecenas' house'. *et est qui vinci possit*) In other words 'If you often press the case, Maecenas is a man who can be won over'. Persius [1.116-7]: 'the rascal Flaccus touched upon every fault of his smiling friend'. And now another person happily seized hold of the man.

Extract 116: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Epod. 1.*

ibis liburnis) *Maecenatem persequitur euntem ad bellum navale cum Augusto adversum Antonium et Cleopatram. ad Actiacum bellum iturus Caesar Augustus liburnis praeposuit Maecenatem. hac igitur illum poeta ovatione solatur. liburnae naviculae textae viminibus. utrumne iussi*) *a Maecenate aut a Caesare.*

ibis liburnis) He follows Maecenas going with Augustus to the naval battle against Antony and Cleopatra. Augustus Caesar was on the point of leaving for the battle of Actium when he put Maecenas in command of the Liburnian galleys. So the poet consoles him with this ovation. Liburnian galleys are small boats made from interwoven planks. *utrumne iussi*) by Maecenas or (Augustus) Caesar.

Extract 117: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Epod. 14.*

quod si non pulchrior ignis) *id est non melior quam te iam urit Maecenas quod gratificans dicit Terentiae quam amavit Maecenas.*

quod si non pulchrior ignis) in other words, is better than the fire which eats into you, Maecenas, because, he says, you are satisfying Terentia whom you love.

Extract 118: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 2.6.*

ad Maecenatem) *si Maecenatem in animo habeas vel eius causa iter Romam facias. haec enim magis affert voluptatem; id est habebis in memoria beneficia Maecenatis. Aesquillas*) *Aesquiliae in quibus domus Maecenatis fuerat, in quibus locis mortui ante ponebantur, post quas erant horti Maecenatis. imprimat his*) *ordo: ut Maecenas tabellis signa imprimat. dixeris*) *id est si dixeris, experiar si possum impetrare a Maecenate. et cui concredere nugas*) *nugas potest accusantis modo fingere et in Maecenatem figuratum esse. Persius [1.116-7]: 'omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico tangit'. purgat autem se apud eos qui putant eum apud Maecenatem plurimum valere. hoc genus erat nugarum quae dicebatur. luserat in campo*) *si lusissem cum Maecenate, omnes dicebant ita amat fortuna illum ut filium suum quia omnes viceram. solebant enim veteres Romani filios suos ad campum Martium mittere ut illic pila luderent. deos*) *Augustum et Maecenatem. ut Virgil [E. 1.41]: nec tam praesentes alibi cognoscere divos.*

ad Maecenatem) if you were to have Maecenas in mind or you were to make a journey to Rome for his sake, this will bring you more pleasure; in other words, you will remember the kindnesses of Maecenas. **Aesquillas**) The Esquiline on which Maecenas' house was situated, a place where the dead were buried before, but afterwards became the gardens of Maecenas. **dixeris**) In other words, if you say this, I shall try to find out if I can get Maecenas to grant my request. **et cui concredere nugas**) He can make up the trifles for his accuser and pretend they are those of Maecenas. As Persius wrote [1.116-7]: 'the rascal Flaccus touches upon every fault of his smiling friend'. He disabuses those who think that he has considerable influence with Maecenas. This is the kind of trifle which was spoken about. **luserat in campo**) If I had played games with Maecenas, all used to say that fortune favoured him like a son, since I had beaten everyone. For Romans in the past used to send their sons to the Campus Martius to play ball games. **deos**) Augustus and Maecenas. As Virgil wrote [E. 1.41]: [I could not quit my slavery] nor discover elsewhere divine beings ready to help.

Extract 119: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 2.7.*

Milvius) *ordo: Milvius et scurrae discedunt precati tibi quae repeti non debebant, et quae non debebant audiri. cum ieris, inquit, ad Maecenatem, Milvius et ceteri parasiti tui discedunt tristes imprecantes tibi ea verba quae*

non debes audire. ideo autem precantur, quoniam dolent se privatos cena patrono foris cenante; aut convivae sunt ab eo festinante derelicti aut cli- entes Maecenatis quos Horatius pascere consueverat.

Milvius) the order is: Milvius and men about town depart cursing you with words which ought not to be repeated and which ought not to be heard. He says that since you have gone off to dine with Maecenas, Milvius and your other parasites sadly depart cursing you with words which you ought not to hear. So they curse you since they are angry that they have been deprived of dinner by their patron dining out. Either they are guests abandoned by his hurried departure or the clients of Maecenas whom Horace had been in the habit of feeding.

Extract 120: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Sat. 2.8.*

inter hos aut et ad dextram intelligendum est Maecenatem fuisse, cuius umbrae sunt.

We must understand that Maecenas was on the right or between these men, who were his hangers-on.

Extract 121: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 1.1.*

Maecenas atavis edite regibus). in commemoratione parentum et laudatio invenitur. ut Virgilius [A. 1.606]: ‘qui tanti talem genuere parentes?’ et vituperatio ut: Ismarus aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes. **edite regibus**). quoniam dicitur duxisse originem ab Hetruscis regibus et contempsisse senatoriam dignitatem: mansisse autem semper in equestri ordine. **o et praesidium**) quoniam eum a caede liberavit Bruto a Caesare superato: vel quia per ipsum liberatus est indulgente sibi Augusto: multa etiam illi donavit. **Maecenas**) amicus Augusti Caesaris. **decus**) quia magna laus est placere meliori. **sunt quos**) sunt qui delectantur inire curule certamen. exponit autem varia hominum ingenia et non unas voluntates, ne fit arrogantiae qua sibi poeticam videatur vindicare doctrinam cum singulos quosque rerum aliarum diversus habeat amor.

Maecenas atavis edite regibus). Praise is also to be found in mention of his parents. As Virgil wrote [A.1.606]: ‘Who were the great parents who gave birth to such a man?’ And abuse such as: Ismarus, or Rhodope, or the distant Garamantes. **edite regibus**). Since he is said to have a lineage from Etruscan kings and to have scorned senatorial rank: for he always remained a member of the *equites*. **o et praesidium**) Since he freed him from a death sentence after Brutus had been defeated by (Augustus) Caesar: or since he was freed by him with the approval of Augustus: he also gave him many things. **Maecenas**) the friend of Augustus Caesar. **decus**) since there is great praise in pleasing a better man. **sunt quos**) There are those who delight in entering the race to the consulship. He explains, however, that men’s characters differ and they do not have the same wishes, lest there is a measure of arrogance by which he seems to

absolve his poetic doctrine since a diverse love of different subjects possesses each individual.

Extract 122: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 1.20*.

vile potabis modicis Sabinum) metrum Sapphicum hendecasyllabum. *Maeccenatem invitat ad cenam cui mediocritatem suam excusat, promittens vinum Sabinum novitate vile sed quod in amphoram Graecam miserit ut inde aliquid traheret suavitatis, eo tempore quo ille in theatro a populo laudabatur. potabis modicis*) ordo est: *clare Maecenas eques potabis vile Sabinum modicis cantharis quod ego ipse levi conditum Graeca testa cum datus est tibi plausus in theatro: ut ripae paterni fluminis simul et iocosa imago Vaticani montis redderet tibi laudes. clare Maecenas eques*) constat Maeccenatem in equestri dignitate mansisse sua voluntate, dum ei facultas consulatus pateret. **ut paterni**) paterni: ideo quia de Tuscia fuit Maecenas, unde oritur Tyberis. ut Vergilius [G.1.499]: “*quae Tuscum Tyberim et Romana palatia servas.*” nam et Porsenae dicitur affinis fuisse.

vile potabis modicis Sabinum) The metre is Sapphic hendecasyllable. He invites Maecenas to dinner, the mediocrity of which he excuses, promising cheap new Sabine wine, which he put in a Greek amphora, at the time when Maecenas was applauded by the audience in the theatre, so that Maecenas might enjoy some of its sweetness. **potabis modicis**) the order is: Maecenas famous member of the *equites*, you will drink cheap Sabine wine from modest cups which I myself sealed and stored away in a Greek jar when you were given applause in the theatre: when the banks of your paternal river and at the same time the pleasing image of the Vatican hill re-echoed your praise. **clare Maecenas eques**) It is well known that Maecenas remained a member of the *equites* of his own volition, although the path to a consulship was open to him: **ut paterni**) paternal: since Maecenas was from Etruria the source of the Tiber. As Virgil wrote [G.1.499, addressing Vesta] “you who protect the Etruscan Tiber and Roman palaces.” For Maecenas is also said to have been a relative of Porsena.

Extract 123: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 2.12*.

nolis longa ferae) *ad Maeccenatem scribit docens non convenire historiam poetae, ut nec graves res carmini lyrico, sed remissas potius et iocis aptas, facta enim Caesaris ipsum Maeccenatem melius exerciturum prosaica oratione dicit.*

nolis longa ferae) He writes to Maecenas to tell him that history is not a suitable topic for a poet. Lyric poetry is not suitable for weighty matters, but relaxed and more suitable for casual trifles. He says that Maecenas himself would be better to write a prose work about the deeds of Augustus.

Extract 124: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 2.17.*

cur me querelis exanimas tuis?) *Maecenatem aegrum velut assidens alloquitur querentem de periculo suo et pro praesenti statu optatum mortem pro cuius affectu vel amore dicit se ei esse nolle superstitem: sed quasi quodam sacramento devinctum sociandum morte cui fuerat vita coniunctus. ordo est: Maecenas grande decus et columen mearum rerum, cur me exanimas tuis querelis. nec diis nec mihi amicum est te prius obire. utcumque praecedes*) seu aetate, seu forte praecedet in supremo mortis die comitari se asserit *Maecenatem. cum populus frequens*) ostendit populum per gratiam *Maecenatis* comperto quod evasisset aegritudinis periculum in theatro congratulantem saluti eius absenti et adhuc invalido plausum dedisse.

cur me querelis exanimas tuis?) He addresses, as if sitting by him, the sick Maecenas who is complaining about the danger threatening him and instead of his present situation he hoped for death or says with passion and love of him that he does not wish to survive Maecenas: but that it is as if tied by an oath to share death just as he had been bound to him in life. The order is: Maecenas, my great source of glory and the pillar of my support, why do you worry me to death with your complaints? It is not possible for you, my friend, to die before the gods and me. *utcumque praecedes*) Whether he dies first of old age or by chance, he asserts that he wants to accompany him by dying on the same day. *cum populus frequens*) He shows how the audience in the theatre, in gratitude for the fact that they had learnt that Maecenas had escaped from the danger of ill health, congratulated and applauded him for recovering from his recent poor health.

Extract 125: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 2.18.*

nec potentem amicum) *Maecenatem* significat: a quo se dicit maiora non quaerere dum beatum se factum fatetur fundo ab eo in *Sabinis* accepto.

nec potentem amicum) He means Maecenas: from whom he says that he will not ask for more—he confesses that he has been blessed by the Sabine farm which he received from him.

Extract 126: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 2.20.*

non ego quem vocas) ordo est: *Maecenas non obibo ego quem vocas 'dilecte', nec cohibebor Stygia unda. significat carmina non obire per quae aeternitatem ipse mereatur.*

non ego quem vocas) The order is: Maecenas I shall not die, whom you call 'beloved', nor shall I be hemmed in by the Stygian waters. He means that his poetry will not die, as, through it, he will earn everlasting fame.

Extract 127: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 3.8.*

Martiis caelebs) *ut viduae sine viris, ita caelibes sine uxoribus dicebantur. Calendis Martiis: Matronalia dicebantur, eo quod mariti pro conseravtione coniugii supplicabant et erat dies proprie festus Matronis. ad Maecenatem ergo scribit Horatius. non eum debere mirari quod Calendis Martiis, dum sit sine uxore, sacrificet. hac enim die casu se arboris commemorat liberatum, servatae salutis festiva. ordo est: Maecenas docte sermonis utrius linguae, id est Graecae et Latinae linguae, miraris quid caelebs agat Martiis calendis, quid velint flores et acerra plena thuris et carbo positus in vivo caespote. occidit Daci*) *Cotison nomen regis Dacorum. quo victo suadet aliquatenus a curis publicis recedi debere et privato se exercere convivio Maecenatem.*

Martiis caelebs) As women are called spinsters when they have no husbands, so men are called bachelors without wives. **Calendis Martiis**) This is called the 'Matronalia', because husbands pray for the preservation of their marriages and it is the day devoted to celebrate 'Matro'. So Horace writes to Maecenas that he should not wonder why he was sacrificing on March 1st while his wife was absent. For he remembers that it is the day he escaped from the falling tree and the day to remember that his life was saved. The order is: Maecenas, proficient at speaking in two languages that is Greek or Latin, you wonder what he is doing on March 1st while his wife is away, and what is the meaning of the flowers, the boxes full of frankincense and the charcoal placed on the living turf. **occidit Daci**) Cotiso is the name of the Dacian king. As he has been defeated, he persuades Maecenas that he should, to some extent, retire from his worries about public affairs and take part in a private dinner.

Extract 128: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 3.16.*

Maecenas equitum decus) *Maecenas enim eques Romanus fuit, nec voluit transire in ordinem Senatorum. quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit*) *quanto divitias magis spreverit contentus mediocritate census, nec habenti ambitum fortunae maioris tanto deorum favore dicit nil posse abesse. nec si plura*) *quam habeo. humanitatem circa se Maecenatis ostendit.*

Maecenas equitum decus) For Maecenas was a Roman *eques* and did not wish to transfer to senatorial rank. **quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit**) as much as he scorned greater wealth, content with his modest position, and did not have any ambition for greater wealth, to the same extent he admitted that nothing could happen without the blessing of the gods. **nec si plura**) than I have. He shows that he is surrounded by the kindness of Maecenas.

Extract 129: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm. 3.29.*

declive contempleris) *turrim in hortis suis Maecenas construxisse dicebatur unde haec omnia prospiceret. tu civitatem quis deceat status*) *ostendit aut Maecenatem praefectum urbis eo tempore fuisse.*

declive contempleris) Maecenas was said to have constructed a tower in his gardens from where he could have a wide view of the city. *tu civitatem quis deceat status*) he shows that Maecenas may have been in charge of the city at that time.

Extract 130: Pseudo-Acron *ad Hor. Carm.* 4.11.

est mihi novum superantis annum) *ad Phyllidem scribit amicam suam invitans eam sub promissione vini Albani veteris ad laetitiam convivii exhibendi natalis Maecenatis.*

est mihi novum superantis annum) He writes to his girlfriend Phyllis, inviting her, with the promise of old Alban wine, to a party to celebrate the birthday of Maecenas.

Extract 131: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 49.16.2.

τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ τε λοιπῇ Ἰταλίας Γαίος τις Μαικίνας, ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, καὶ τότε καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκῃσεν.

A certain Gaius Maecenas, a member of the *equites*, both then and afterwards on many occasions looked after everything else in the city and the rest of Italy.

Extract 132: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 51.3.5–6.

καίτοι ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑποτοπήσας τε αὐτοῦς, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ τοῦ Μαικίνου, ᾧ καὶ τότε ἦ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ Ἰταλία προσετέτακτο, καταφρονήσωσιν ὅτι περὸς ἦν, τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ὥς καὶ κατ' ἄλλο τι ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπεμψε. καὶ τοσαύτην γ' ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ Μαικίνῳ ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ὥστε σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἃς τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγραφε, προαναγγινώσκειν, κάκ τούτου καὶ μεταγράφειν ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δακτύλιον ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἵν' ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι αὐτὰς ἔχωσι.

So Octavian suspected them [the discharged soldiers], and fearing that Maecenas, to whom he had entrusted the rest of Italy, would be despised by them because he was only an *eques*, he sent Agrippa to Italy as if for some other purpose. He gave such great power to him and Maecenas that they were allowed to read in advance the letters which he wrote to the senate and to others, and to make whatever changes to them they thought fit. For this purpose they were given a ring from him so that they could reseal his letters.

Extract 133: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 52.1–41.

ἐκ δὲ τούτου μοναρχεῖσθαι αὐθις ἀκριβῶς ἤρξαντο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος βουλευσαμένον τὰ τε ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ τὰ πράγματα τῇ τε γερουσίᾳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὴν διάγνωσιν μετὰ τε τοῦ Ἀγρίππου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Μαικίνου (τούτοις γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἀπόρρητα ἀνεκοίνου), καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρότερος εἶπε τοιάδε·

Μαικήνας μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέροισιν μὲν σφας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπῆνεσε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου μᾶλλον εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ὑπετέθειτο ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, ἀθρόως μεταρρυθμίσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθέλησας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ τινα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρξουσι ποιῆσαι κατέλιπεν ὥς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς πάντα, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότερα συνήρατο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐσηγητὴς αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει.

After this they began to be ruled by a king again, to be accurate, although Augustus intended both to lay down his arms and to entrust affairs of state to the senate and the people. He made his decision together with Agrippa and Maecenas (for he usually shared all his secrets with these men), and Agrippa spoke to him first as follows:

[Thus begins a very long passage in which first Agrippa (52.2–13) and then Maecenas (52.14–40) give Augustus their views about the way he should control Rome in the future. There is a small part of the manuscript missing at the end of Agrippa's speech and the beginning of that of Maecenas. The substance of this long section is not included here, but it has been discussed in Chapter 1. The passage concludes in 52.41 as follows:]

Μαικήνας μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέροισιν μὲν σφας καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυνοίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πολυλογίᾳ τῇ τε παρρησίᾳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπῆνεσε, τὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Μαικήνου μᾶλλον εἴλετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ πάντα εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ὑπετέθειτο ἔπραξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ σφαλῇ τι, ἀθρόως μεταρρυθμίσει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθέλησας· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν παραχρῆμα μετεκόσμησε τὰ δ' ὕστερον, καὶ τινα καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρξουσι ποιῆσαι κατέλιπεν ὥς καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ γενησόμενα. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς πάντα, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν σφίσι γνώμην δούς, προθυμότερα συνήρατο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ ἐσηγητὴς αὐτῶν ἐγεγόνει.

When he had said this, Maecenas stopped. Augustus praised both of them very much for their thoughtfulness and arguments, and for saying so much in a frank way, but he chose the advice of Maecenas. He did not, however, put it all into effect immediately, fearing that he might fail if he wanted to change mankind all at once; but he changed things later and left some for those who ruled later to change at a more appropriate moment than at present. And Agrippa, although he had presented the opposite argument, enthusiastically joined in putting these things into effect, just as if he had been the instigator of them.

Extract 134: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.3.4–5.

ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦ Πρίμου οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἀπεψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐπιβουλὴν ἕτεροι ἐπ' αὐτῷ συνέστησαν. Φάνιος μὲν γὰρ Καίπιον ἀρχηγὸς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο, συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· καὶ σφισι καὶ ὁ Μουρήνας συνομωμοκέναι, εἴτ' οὖν

ἀληθῶς εἶτε καὶ ἐκ διαβολῆς, ἐλέχθη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀκράτω καὶ κατακορεῖ τῇ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρήτο. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐρημὴν μὲν ὥς καὶ φευζόμενοι ἤλωσαν, ἀπεσφάγησαν δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἐπῆρκεσαν τῷ Μουρήνῃ οὔτε ὁ Προκουλείος ἀδελφὸς ὢν οὔτε ὁ Μαικίνας τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ συνοικῶν, καίπερ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου τιμώμενοι.

Of course not a few voted for the acquittal of Primus, and others formed a plot against Augustus. Fannius Caepio was the leader of the plot, but others joined it. Even Murena was said to have joined the plot, whether this is true or a false accusation, since he was immoderate and intemperate towards all in his conversation. They did not stay for the trial, but were convicted by default, as if they intended to flee. They were put to death a little while later. Neither his brother Proculeius, nor Maecenas, his sister's husband, were any help to Murena, although they were among those most highly honoured by Augustus.

Extract 135: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.6.4–5.

ἀγανακτήσας οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Αὐγούστος, καὶ μῆτε μόνῃ τῇ Ρώμῃ σχολάζειν δυνάμενος μήτ' αὖ ἄναρχον αὐτὴν καταλιπεῖν τολμῶν, ἐζήτει τινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπιστῆσαι, καὶ ἔκρινε μὲν τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐπιτηδειότατον ἐς τοῦτο εἶναι, βουλευθεῖς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ μείζον περιθεῖναι, ἵνα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ῥᾶον αὐτῶν ἄρχῃ, μετεπέμματο αὐτόν, καὶ καταναγκάσας τὴν γυναῖκα, καίπερ ἀδελφιδὴν αὐτοῦ οὔσαν, ἀπαλλάξαντα τῇ Ιουλίᾳ συνοικῆσαι, ἐς τὴν Ρώμην παραχρήμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἐπεμψε, διὰ τε τᾶλλα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Μαικίνας συμβουλευομένῳ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων εἶπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι “τηλικούτον αὐτὸν πεποίηκας ὥστ' ἢ γαμβρόν σου γενέσθαι ἢ φονευθῆναι.”

Augustus was annoyed at this, for he could not spend all his time in Rome only nor could he leave the city without a ruler. He sought someone to put in that position and judged that Agrippa was the best man for the job. As he wished to invest him with greater dignity, so that he could govern the people more easily, he summoned him, forced him to divorce his wife, even though she was the emperor's niece, and to marry Julia. He sent him to Rome to look after the arrangements for the wedding and the administration of the state. He did this for other reasons but also because Maecenas advised him on these matters and said to him “You have made him so powerful that he must either become your son-in-law or be put to death.”

Extract 136: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.17.4–5.

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοῖς βουλομένοις τῶν στρατηγῶν τριπλάσιον τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου σφίσις ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις διδομένου προσαναλίσκειν ἐφήκεν. ὥστε εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ νομοθετημάτων ἤχθοντό τινες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τούτου, καὶ ὅτι Πυλάδην τινὰ ὀρχηστὴν διὰ στάσιν ἐξεληλαμένον κατήγαγεν, οὐκέτ' ἐκείνων ἐμέμνηντο. ὅθεν περ πάντῃ σοφῶς ὁ Πυλάδης, ἐπιτιμώμενος ὑπ'

αὐτοῦ ἐπειδὴ Βαθύλλῳ ὁμοτέχνῳ τέ οἱ ὄντι καὶ τῷ Μαικίηνῳ προσήκοντι διεστasiaζεν, εἶπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι “συμφέρει σοι, Καῖσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιατρίβεσθαι.”

And because of this he permitted the praetors who wished to spend on public festivals three times the amount granted to them by the treasury to do so. So, even if some were angry at the strictness of his other laws, because of this and because he bade the dancer Pylades, who had been exiled for sedition, to return, they no longer remembered them. Hence Pylades is said to have replied cleverly when he was rebuked by the emperor for having an argument with Bathyllus, a fellow dancer and favourite of Maecenas, “It is to your advantage, Emperor, that the people should waste their time watching us.”

Extract 137: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.19.3.

καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερεντίαν τὴν τοῦ Μαικίηνου γυναικα ἀποδημῆσαι αὐτὸν ὑπετόπησαν, ἴν’ ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐλογοποιεῖτο, ἄνευ θροῦ τινὸς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδημίᾳ αὐτῇ συνῇ· οὕτω γὰρ οὖν πάνυ αὐτῆς ἦρα ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνίσασθαι ποτε αὐτὴν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους πρὸς τὴν Λιουίαν ποιῆσαι.

And some suspected that he had gone away on account of Terentia, the wife of Maecenas, so that he could live with her overseas without gossip, since there was much talk about them in Rome. For he was so much in love with her that he once made her enter a beauty contest against Livia.

Extract 138: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.19.6.

καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθις ἐστάλκει, καὶ τῷ Μαικίηνῳ διὰ τὴν γυναικα οὐκέθ’ ὁμοίως ἔχαιρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τιβέριον καίτοι στρατηγούντα παραλαβὼν ἐξώρμησεν.

He then turned to Taurus to look after the city and the rest of Italy (For he had again sent Agrippa to Syria and no longer treated Maecenas in the same way because of Maecenas’ wife). Then he set out, taking Tiberius with him, although he had a command of his own.

Extract 139: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 54.30.4–5.

Κακῶς τέ ποτε τοῦ Ἀπουλεῖου καὶ τοῦ Μαικίηνου ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τινὶ μοιχείας, οὐχ ὅτι τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑβρίκεσαν ἀλλ’ ὅτι τῷ κρινομένῳ σπουδῇ συνήρουντο, ἀκούοντων ἡλθέ τε ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔδρᾳ καθιζήσας δεινὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπραξεν, ἀπειπὼν δὲ τῷ κατηγορῶ μῆτε τοὺς συγγενεῖς μῆτε τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ προπηλακίζειν ἀνέστη. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἀνδριᾶσι τε ἐκ συντελείας ἐτίμησαν, καὶ τῷ τοῖς τε ἀγύνοις καὶ ταῖς

ἀνάνδροις καὶ συνθεᾶσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ δοῦναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν οὐδέτερον.

Once when Apuleius and Maecenas were being abused in court, where a case of adultery was being heard, not because they had been abusive themselves, but because they were eagerly helping the man on trial, Augustus heard the noise and came to the court and sat in the praetor's chair. He did not use his power to take action, but told the prosecutor not to abuse his relatives and friends, got up and left. For this and other similar actions they honoured him with statues through public subscription, and for allowing bachelors and spinsters to watch spectacles and to dine with others on his birthday, neither of which had been permitted before.

Extract 140: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 55.7.1–6.

Ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἐγυροῦτο, τοῦ δὲ δὴ Μαικίῃνου τελευτήσαντος ἤλγησε. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπώνητο, ὅθεν καίπερ ἱππεῖ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπέτρεψε, μάλιστα δὲ ὁσάκις ἀκρατοτέρῳ τῷ θυμῷ ἐχρήτο· τῆς τε γὰρ ὀργῆς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ παρέλκε καὶ ἐς τὸ ἡπιώτερον μεθίστη. τεκμήριον δέ, δικάζοντι ποτε αὐτῷ προστάς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι πολλοὺς θανατώσειν μέλλοι, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν διώσασθαι τοὺς περιεσηκότας καὶ ἐγγὺς οἱ προσελθεῖν, μὴ δυνηθεῖς δὲ ἔγραψεν ἐς γραμματεῖον “ἀνάστηθι ἤδη ποτέ, δήμιε,” καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἑτερόν τι ἔχον ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτοῦ ἔρριπεν, ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον μὴτ' ἀποκτεῖναι τινα καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξαναστήναι. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἡγανάκτει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης καὶ παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἐθυμοῦτο, ταῦτα τῇ τῶν φίλων παρρησίᾳ διωροῦτο. μέγιστον δ' οὖν καὶ ἐκεῖνο τῆς τοῦ Μαικίῃνου ἀρετῆς δεῖγμα ἦν, ὅτι τῷ τε Αὐγούστῳ, καίτοι πρὸς τὰς ὁρμὰς αὐτοῦ ἀνθιστάμενος, ῥέκειωτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἡρέσκετο, πλεῖστον τε παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεῖς, ὥστε πολλοῖς καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς δοῦναι, οὐκ ἐξεφρόνησεν ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἱππέων τέλει κατεβίω. τούτων τε οὖν ἔνεκα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ὁ Αὐγουστός ἐπόθησε, καὶ ὅτι καὶ κληρονόμον αὐτόν, καίπερ ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ δυσκολαίνων, κατέλιπε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐλαχίστων ἐποιήσατο ἄν τι νιν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ δοῦναι τι ἐβελήσῃ ἄν τε καὶ μὴ. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Μαικίῃνας ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐχρήτο· πρῶτός τε κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πρῶτος σημεῖά τινα γραμμάτων πρὸς τάχος ἐξεῦρε, καὶ αὐτὰ διὰ Ακύλου ἀπελευθέρου συχνοὺς ἐξεδίδαξε.

He took pride in all these things, but suffered from the death of Maecenas. He had received many services from this man, with the result that he had entrusted the care of the city to him for a long time, even though he was only an equestrian. He had especially made use of his friend when overcome by anger. For his friend was able to assuage his anger and put him into a calmer state. This is evidence of this fact. Maecenas came upon Augustus when he was acting as judge, and seeing that he was about to condemn many people to death, he

tried to push through the bystanders so that he could get near to him. When he could not do this, he wrote on a tablet “Stand up then, executioner.” Then he threw the tablet into the lap of Augustus as if it contained some other message, and the emperor did not impose the death penalty, but stood up and left. Augustus never took offence at such actions, but welcomed them, because, when he became more enraged than was appropriate because of either his nature or the pressure of the situation, his behaviour was corrected by the advice of his friends. The strongest evidence of the good qualities of Maecenas is the fact that he became close to Augustus, even though he resisted his most impulsive behaviour, and won the admiration of everyone else. Most notable is the fact that he had the power to award honours and positions of power to many, but he did get carried away by his position and remained an equestrian for all his life. For all these reasons, then, Augustus missed him greatly, and also because Maecenas made him his heir, in spite of the fact that he was unhappy about the relationship with his wife, and gave him the power to dispose of his estate with very small exceptions to any friends, or not, as he saw fit. Such was the character of Maecenas and the way in which he behaved towards Augustus. He was the first to provide a heated swimming pool in the city and to use a form of shorthand to speed up writing. He employed a freed-man named Aquila to teach the system to others.

Extract 141: Cassius Dio *Roman History* 56.38.2–3.

ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς συνεξετασθέντας οἱ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας δωρεὰς τμήσας οὐθ' ὑπερήφανόν τι πράττειν οὐθ' ὑβρίζειν εἴασεν. ἀλλ' ἴστε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τοὺς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Μαικίηναν καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, ὥστε με μὴδὲν μὴδὲ τούτους ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δεῖσθαι.

Then, when he had honoured those who had served with him with many great gifts, he did not allow them to behave in a wanton or arrogant way. But you know well enough that Maecenas and Agrippa among others were included so that I do not have to count up these men.

Extract 142: Aelianus *Varia Historia* 12.25.

ἵνα δὲ [μοι] καὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων οὐδὲν ἥττον ἥπερ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες προσήκουσι μνήσωμαι (διαφέρει δέ μοι καὶ τούτων, εἴ γε Ῥωμαὶ ὅς εἰμι), καὶ Λεύκολλος Ἀντιόχου τι ὦνητο τοῦ Ἀσκαλῶν τοῦ καὶ Μαικίηνας Ἀρείου καὶ Κικέρων Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὁ Σεβαστὸς Ἀθηνοδώρου.

If I may mention persons just as close to me as the Greeks are (since I am a Roman, I have an interest in them as well), Lucullus derived some advantage from Antiochus of Ascalon, Maecenas from Areius, Cicero from Apollonius, and Augustus from Athenodorus.

Extract 143: Julius Solinus *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* 12.8.

hoc per annos plurimos tamdiu gestum, donec assiduo spectaculo desineret miraculum esse quod gerebatur. sed ubi obiit puer sub oculis publicis desiderii maerore delphin interiit. pigeret hoc adseverare, ni Maecenatis et Fabiani multorumque praeterea esset litteris.

This happened very often over very many years, until what was happening ceased to be a miracle because it was seen so often. But, when the boy died, the dolphin through sadness at the loss died in front of everyone. I would be ashamed to claim this, if it was not in the writings of Maecenas, Fabianus and many others as well.

Extract 144: Porphyrius *Commentary on Q Horatius Flaccus Carmina* 3.29.25–6.

apparet illo tempore Urbis praefectum fuisse Maecenatem.

It appears that at that time Maecenas was City Prefect.

Extract 145: Censorinus *Epitoma discipinarum* 13.4–5.

trinarum syllabarum primus est dactylus, qui constat ex longa et duabus brevibus, cuius exemplum Annibal; anapaestus contra ex duabus brevibus et longa, cuius exemplum Capaneus; amphibrachys ex brevi et longa et brevi, cuius exemplum avarus; brachysyllabus ex tribus brevibus, cuius exemplum Cicero; ei contrarius molossus ex tribus longis, cuius exemplum Maecenas.

The first example of a three syllable foot is the dactyl, which, it is well known is a long followed by two shorts, for example *Annibal*; the opposite is the anapaest of two shorts and one long, for example *Capaneus*; the amphibrach is short, long, short, for example *avarus*; a brachysyllable is three shorts, for example *Cicero*; the opposite is the molossus of three longs, for example *Maecenas*.

Extract 146: Victorinus *De metrica institutione*.

dactylus ex longa et duabus brevibus, ut copia Lydia; anapaestus ex duabus brevibus et longa, ut sapiens Erato; molossus ex tribus longis, ut Maecenas heredes; tribarchus ex tribus brevibus, ut Lepidus Catulus.

The dactyl from a long and two shorts, for example *copia, Lydia*; the anapaest from two shorts and a long, for example *sapiens, Erato*; the molossus from three longs, for example *Maecenas, heredes*; the tribarch from three shorts, for example *Lepidus Catulus*.

Extract 147: Donatus *vita Vergilii* 3.40.

possedit prope centiens sestertium ex liberalitatibus amicorum habuitque domum Romae Esquiliis iuxta hortos Maecenatianos, quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur.

He had almost ten million sesterces from the generosity of his friends and a house in Rome on the Esquiline next to the gardens of Maecenas, although he spent more time away from the city in Campania or Sicily.

Extract 148: Donatus *vita Vergilii* 5.70.

deinde edidit georgica in honore Maecenatis, qui sibi mediocriter adhuc noto opem tulisset adversus veterani cuiusdam violentiam, a quo in altercatione litis agrariae paulum afuit quin occideretur.

He then published the Georgics in honour of Maecenas, who, when he did not know him very well, came to his aid against the violence of a veteran, by whom he was almost killed in a dispute over land.

Extract 149: Donatus *vita Vergilii* 6.91.

Georgica reverso post Actiacam victoriam Augusto atque Atellae reficiendarum faucium causa commoranti, per continuum quadriduum legit, suscipiente Maecenate legendi vicem, quotiens interPELLARETUR ipse vocis offensione.

He read the Georgics over four continuous days to Augustus, who had returned after his victory at Actium, while he was staying at Atella to recover from a throat infection. Maecenas took over the reading from him whenever his voice failed.

Extract 150: Donatus *vita Vergilii* 8.138.

heredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum fratrem, alio patre, ex quarta Augustum, ex duodecim Maecenatem, ex reliqua L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius Aeneida post obitum iussu Caesaris emendaverunt.

He bequeathed half his estate to his half-brother Valerius Proculus, a quarter to Augustus, a twelfth to Maecenas, with the rest going to L. Varius and Plotius Tucca, who, on the emperor's instructions, edited his Aeneid after his death.

Extract 151: Donatus *vita Vergilii* 10.180.

M Vipsanius a Maecenate eum suppositum appellabat novae cacozeliae repertore, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis.

M. Vipsanius used to claim that Virgil was controlled by Maecenas, the founder of a new form of affectation, neither inflated nor humble, but formed from words in common use and, therefore, not obvious.

Extract 152: Donatus *vita Vergilii*.

sed Vergilius merito carminum fretus et amicitia quorundam potentium centurioni Arrio cum obsistere ausus esset, ille statim, ut miles, ad gladium manum admovit, cumque se in fugam proripuisset poeta, non prius finis persequendi fuit, quam se in fluvium Vergilius coniecisset atque ita in alteram ripam enatavisset. sed postea, et per Maecenatem et per triumviros agris dividendis Varum, Pollionem et Cornelium Gallum fama carminum commendatus Augusto, et agros recepit, et deinceps imperatoris familiari amore perfruitus est.

But Virgil, relying on the merits of his poetry and the friendship of certain powerful men, was bold enough to stand in the way of the centurion Arrius, who immediately, like any soldier, reached for his sword, and when the poet rushed off in flight, did not stop pursuing him before Virgil hurled himself into the river and swam to the opposite bank. But afterwards with the help of Maecenas and the three men appointed to divide up the land, Varus, Pollio and Cornelius Gallus, when he had won the favour of Augustus through the fame of his poetry, both recovered his land and from that time on enjoyed the close affection of the emperor.

Extract 153: Servius *Preface to the commentary on the Aeneid*.

amissis ergo agris Romam venit et usus patrocinio Pollionis et Maecenatis solus agrum, quem amiserat, meruit. tunc ei proposuit Pollio ut carmen bucolicum sciberet, quod eum constat triennio scripsisse et emendasse. item proposuit Maecenas Georgica quae scripsit emendavitque septem annis.

So, when he had lost his land, he came to Rome and, using the patronage of Pollio and Maecenas, he, on his own, earned back the land he had lost. Then Pollio suggested to him that he should write a bucolic poem, which it is known that he wrote and edited in a three year period. Maecenas also suggested the Georgics, which he wrote and edited within seven years.

Extract 154: Servius *Commentary on Vergil Georgics 2.41*.

constat Maecenatem fuisse litterarum peritum et plura composuisse carmina—nam etiam Augusti Caesaris gesta descripsit, quod testatur Horatius dicens ‘tuque pedestribus dices historiis proelia Caesaris, Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias regum colla minacium’.

It is well known that Maecenas was a man of letters and wrote several poems—for he also described the achievements of Augustus Caesar, as Horace proves when he writes ‘you will describe better in a prose history the battles of Caesar, Maecenas, and the necks of threatening kings led through the streets’.

Extract 155: Servius *Commentary on Vergil Aeneid* 8.310.

facilesque oculos fert omnia circum—physici dicunt ex vino mobiliores oculos fieri: Plautus faciles oculos habet, id est mobiles vino. hoc etiam Maecenas in symposio, ubi Vergilius et Horatius interfuerunt, cum ex persona Messalae de vi vini loqueretur, ita: ut idem umor ministrat faciles oculos, pulchriora reddit omnia et dulcis iuventae reducit bona.

He passes his willing (restless/obedient) eyes over everything—natural philosophers say that eyes become more restless from drinking wine: Plautus has restless eyes, in other words they move because of wine. Maecenas at a symposium, at which Virgil and Horace were present, when there was discussion about the effects of wine through Messala, said this: just as the same liquid makes the eyes restless, it also makes everything more beautiful and brings back the good things of sweet youth.

Extract 156: Charisius *Ars grammatica* 1.79.

catinus masculino genere dicitur, ut Maecenas in X ait: ingeritur fumans calido cum farre catinus.

“catinus” can be said to be masculine in gender, as Maecenas says in 10. The dish is brought in steaming with warm barley.

Extract 157: Macrobius *Saturnalia* 2.4.12.

idem Augustus quia Maecenatum sum noverat stilo esse remisso, molli et dissoluto, talem se in epistulis quas ad eum scribebat saepius exhibebat, et contra castigationem loquendi, quam alias ille scribendo servabat, in epistula ad Maecenatem familiari plura in iocos effusa subtexit: vale mi ebum Medulliae, ebur ex Etruria, lasar Arretinum, adamas Supernas, Tiberinam margaritam, Cilniorum smaragde, iaspi Iguvinorum, berulle Porsenae, carbunculum Hadriae i{na suntevmnw pavnta mavlagma moecharum.

The same Augustus, since he knew that his friend Maecenas had a style which was casual, effeminate and loosely put together, quite often showed himself like this in letters which he used to write to him. In contrast to the reprimand which he kept for writing elsewhere, he added at the bottom of an intimate letter to Macenas several items in the form of jokes: farewell

my ebony of Medullia, my ivory from Etruria, my silphium from Arretium, my adamant from the Propontis, my pearl from the Tiber, emerald of the Cilnii, jasper from Iguvium, beryl of Porsenna and precious stone of the Adriatic—to cut things short, all the emollients of adulteresses.

Extract 158: Orosius *Historiarum adversum paganos libri vii* III. 7.7.6.

quod ipse ex altissima illa Maecenatiana turre prospectans laetusque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulchritudine tragico habitu Iliadam decantabat.

Because he himself [Nero], looking out from that very high tower of Maecenas and delighted by the beauty of the flames, as he said, recited the Iliad in the costume of a tragic actor.

Extract 159: Priscian *Institutio grammatica* II, 536.

Maecenas in Octaviam “pexisti capillum naturæ muneribus gratum.”

Maecenas [said] to Octavia “You combed your hair in a way which is satisfying to the gifts of nature.”

Extract 160: Justinian *Digest* 24.1.64.

vir mulieri divortio facto quaedam idcirco dederat, ut ad se reverteretur: mulier reversa erat, deinde divortium fecerat. Labeo: Trebatius inter Terentiam et Maecenatem respondit si verum divortium fuisset, ratam esse donationem, si simulatum, contra. sed verum est, quod Proculus et Caecilius putant, tunc verum esse divortium et valere donationem divortii causa factam, si aliae nuptiae insecutae sunt aut tam longo tempore vidua fuisset, ut dubium non foret alterum esse matrimonium: alias nec donationem ullius esse momenti futuram.

A husband, after a divorce had been arranged, had given certain things to his wife so that she would return to him: the wife had returned, but then enforced the divorce. Labeo quotes Trebatius' response in the dispute between Terentia and Maecenas that, if the divorce was real, it should be considered a gift, but if it was a sham divorce, it should not. But it is true, as Proculus and Caecilius think, that the divorce is real and the gift made because of the divorce is valid, if another marriage ensues or she has been a divorcee for so long that there is no doubt that there will not be another marriage: otherwise the gift will be null and void.

Extract 161: Isidorus *Etymologia* 19.32.6.

<Maecenas ad> Flaccu <m>
lucentes, mea vita, nec smaragdus
beryllos mihi, Flacce, nec nitentes

*nec percandida margarita quaero
nec quos Thynica lima perpolivit
anulos neque iasprios lapillos.*
<Maecenas to Flaccus>

I do not seek for myself bright emeralds or shining beryls, Flaccus, light of my life, or shining white pearls or rings which the Bithynian file has polished thoroughly or small stones of jasper.

Appendix B

Table of Greek vases with representations of Aeneas and Anchises

1.	Black-figure amphora	Cerveteri	510-500	S1	ABV 319	LIMC A62	CVA	Basle 1921, 331	Aeneas, Anchises, two women, child
2.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci		S2	ABV 371			Berlin F1861	
3.	Black-figure amphora	Nola		S3	Para 141		CVA	Berlin F1862	A + A, woman, child, warrior
4.	Black-figure amphora		510-500	S4	ABV 371	LIMC K5		Boulogne 70 (98) M2.274	Aeneas, Anchises, two women, child
5.	Black-figure amphora		500	S5		LIMC K14	CVA	Cambridge Fitzwilliam	Aeneas, Anchises, two women, archer
6.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci		S6	ABV 395		CVA	Compiègne 984	A + A, woman, child, archer
7.	Black-figure amphora		500	S7	ABV 397		CVA	Hamburg 1906 380	A + A, woman, child, archer
8.	Black-figure amphora	Etruria	510	S8		LIMC A64	CVA	Hanover 754	A + A, woman, child, archer
9.	Black-figure amphora	Cerveteri	510-500	S9	ABV 394	LIMC A65	CVA	Heidelberg S.184	A + A, woman, child, archer
10.	Black-figure amphora		510	S10	ABV 371	LIMC K19	CVA	Copenhagen 3	Aeneas, Anchises, woman
11.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	510-500	S11	ABV 372	LIMC A63	CVA	Leiden xv 1 58 (PC 50)	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, child
12.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	510-500	S12	ABV 371	LIMC A66	CVA	Leiden xv 1 59 (PC 49)	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, 2 children
13.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	520-510	S13		LIMC A61	CVA	London B 173	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, archer
14.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	510	S14	ABV 589	LIMC K16	CVA	London B 280	A + A, two women, archer, old man
15.	Black-figure amphora		510-500	S15	Para 147	LIMC A 71		Lucerne X 2	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, archer
16.	Black-figure amphora			S16				Lucerne X 1	

17.	Black-figure amphora			S17	ABV 600		CVA	Madrid 10931 (L 78)	Aeneas, Anchises, woman
18.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	500-490	S18	ABV 392	LIMC K 18	CVA	Munich 1554 (J 1187)	A + A, two women, two children
19.	Black-figure amphora		510	S19		LIMC A75	CVA	Munich 1496 (J 91)	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, archer
20.	Black-figure amphora	Nola	500	S20	ABV 397	LIMC A79		Naples H 2481	A + A, woman, child, baby, archer
21.	Black-figure amphora		510	S21		LIMC A74		Naples SA 181	Aeneas, Anchises, two hoplites
22.	Black-figure amphora		510	S22		LIMC K 12	CVA	New York, Gallatin	Aeneas, Anchises, two women
23.	Black-figure amphora		500	S23		LIMC K 30	CVA	New York, Metropolitan 56.171.26	
24.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci		S24	ABV 371		CVA	Louvre F 256	Aeneas, Anchises, two women, child
25.	Black-figure amphora		500	S25	ABV 601	LIMC A81		Louvre F 383	Aeneas, Anchises
26.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	500	S26	ABV 600			Vatican G 27	
27.	Black-figure amphora			S27				Vatican G 19	
28.	Black-figure amphora	Cerveteri	500	S28	ABV 601	LIMC A83		Villa Giulia 47 505	Aeneas, Anchises
29.	Black-figure amphora		510-500	S29		LIMC K 29		San Simeon, Hearst	A + A, woman, hoplite, dog
30.	Black-figure amphora	Gela	500	S30	ABV 604	LIMC A84	CVA	Syracuse 23512	Aeneas, Anchises
31.	Black-figure amphora	Tarquinia	520-510	S31	ABV 269	LIMC A70	CVA	Tarquinia RC 976	A + A, woman + baby, woman, archer
32.	Black-figure amphora		510-500	S32		LIMC A76		Tubingen D 9	Aeneas, Anchises, two women
33.	Black-figure amphora	Vulci	510	S33	ABV 316	LIMC A 69		Wurzburg 218	A + A, child, dog, seated person
34.	Black-figure amphora			S34	ABV 371	LIMC K 10		Wurzburg 212	Aeneas, Anchises, two women, dog
35.	Black-figure amphora			S35				Rome market, Gerhard 231.1.2	
36.	Black-figure amphora			S36				Sotheby 02/07/29	

37.	Black-figure amphora			S37	ABV 373				Sotheby 29/07/46		
38.	Column krater		500	S38		LIMC A80			Salerno XIV 1		Aeneas, Anchises, two women, archer
39.	Hydria/kalpis			S39		LIMC K15			Montreal 33.1		Aeneas, Anchises, two women, archer
40.	Hydria/kalpis	Agora	500	S40	ABV 605	LIMC A82			Athens, Agora P 6180		Aeneas, Anchises
41.	Hydria	Vulci		S41	ABV 362	LIMC A67			Munich 1717 (J 731)		A + A, 2 women, child, 2 hoplites, archer
42.	Hydria			S42		LIMC K8			Orvieto, Faina 22		A + A, 2 women, child, 2 hoplites
43.	Oinochoe	Vulci		S43	ABV 431	LIMC K7			Munich 1775 (J 1118)		Aeneas, Anchises, 2 women, warrior
44.	Olpe		500	S44	ABV 451	LIMC A85		CVA	Cab. Med. 261		Aeneas, Anchises, woman
45.	Oinochoe	S. Italy	510-500	S45	ABV 440	LIMC A77			Louvre F 118		Aeneas, Anchises, woman, hoplite, archer
46.	Lekythos			S46					Camarina		
47.	Lekythos			S47	Para 225			CVA	Dunedin 54.19		Aeneas, Anchises, woman, 2 warriors
48.	Lekythos		510-500	S48		LIMC A86			Copenhagen 2658		Aeneas, Anchises, two women
49.	Lekythos	Gela	500-490	S49		LIMC A87			Syracuse 19882		Aeneas, Anchises, two women, child
50.	Lekythos			S50					Termini		
51.	Fragment of amphora			S51	ABV 390				Basle		
52.	Kylix	Vulci	520	S52	ABV 231	LIMC A60		CVA	Louvre F 112		Aeneas, Anchises, child
53.	Calyx krater		470-460	S53	ARV 590	LIMC A90			Boston 59.176		Aeneas, Anchises, woman, hoplite
54.	Calyx krater	Spina	450	S54	ARV 601	LIMC A91		CVA	Ferrara 2995		Iliupersis with Aeneas and Anchises
55.	Lekythos	Gela	480-470	S55	ARV 385	LIMC A155		CVA	Gela		Aeneas leading Anchises by the hand
56.	Hydria	Nola	480	S56	ARV 189	LIMC A89			Naples H 2422		Iliupersis with Aeneas, Anchises, child
57.	Kylix	Cerveteri	500-490	S57	ARV 36	LIMC A88			Vatican		A + A, woman. 2 hoplites, archer

58.	Etruscan red-figure amphora	Vulci	470-460	S58	ARV 542	LIMC A94		Munich 3185	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, child
59.	Black-figure amphora				ABV 483			Brussels R 312	
60.	Fragment of amphora	Loeri	540		Para 61	LIMC A59		Reggio di Calabria	Aeneas, Anchises, helmet of warrior
61.	Black-figure amphora		500		Para 147	LIMC A68		Metropolitan, N.Y. 1.69.11.11	Aeneas, Anchises, woman, child
62.	Hydria		510	SRM 71,4		LIMC A72		Naples Coll.Astarita 733	Iliupersis with Aeneas and Anchises
63.	Olpe		510	S2.1		LIMC A73		Greenwich, Conn.	Aeneas, Anchises, two women
64.	Calyx krater		510-500		Para 149	LIMC A78		Naples	
65.	Oinochoe		510			LIMC A93	CVA	Cab. Med. 179	Iliupersis with man, woman, 2 children
66.	Amphora					LIMC K1		Tischbein Engravings	Aeneas, Anchises, two women
67.	Calyx krater				Para 152			London, Christie 28/04/64	
68.	Black-figure amphora				Para 173			Lucerne market, Gymnasium 67	
69.	Black-figure amphora	Faleri					CVA	Villa Giulia 911	Aeneas, Anchises, two women

Key: Column 1 – number; Column 2 – vase type; Column 3 – provenance if known; Column 4 – date; Column 5 – Schauenburg's numbering; 1-58 in Gymnasium 1960, S2 in Gymnasium 1967; SRM = RM 71, 1964, 60-70; Column 6 – Page numbers in Beazley – ABV = Attic Black-figure vases, ARV = Attic Red-figure vases, Para = Parapipomena; Column 7 – Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, A = Aineas, K = Kreousa; Column 8 – Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum; Column 9 – current placement, if known; Column 10 – depiction on the vase.

Appendix C

A response to the Bittarello case¹

Many of the commentators use strongly negative language when discussing Maecenas. For example, the words ‘debauched’, ‘sinister’, ‘devious’, ‘Goebbels’, ‘effeminate hedonist’, ‘antic and grotesque’ and ‘the foibles of the aesthete and the foppishness of the *petit maître*’ are all used. Typical of the negative view of Maecenas is an article published in *Greece and Rome* in 2009 which condemned him.² Its author, Maria Beatrice Bittarello, linked Maecenas with Sejanus and Otho on the grounds that they were all Etruscans, because she argued that there is an ‘otherness’ about the Etruscans. It is important to consider this article in depth because of her claim that there is an Etruscan ‘otherness’ in Rome and that Maecenas is part of this. I consider the case which she makes for ‘Etruscan otherness’, set out the case made to condemn Maecenas and mount a defence against it. I do not, however, consider the cases of Sejanus and Otho in full, because those are outside my area of research. That is not to say that I have ignored Beatrice Bittarello’s claims against them, but to answer them would deflect from my purpose.

First it is necessary to consider the case which Beatrice Bittarello makes for Etruscan ‘otherness’, as it is upon this that she bases her attack on Maecenas and the other Etruscan politicians. She begins with a discussion of weapons, hunting and cavalry. Most of her evidence is from Virgil’s *Aeneid*, a source that she seems to misuse. Her claim is that Etruscans are ‘other’ because they use the bow and arrow and the spear rather than the sword. She destroys the strength of her argument when she makes this statement about Aeneas.

‘The bow seems to be, therefore, the favourite weapon of hunters and young men; what is more, Aeneas, the Trojan ancestor of the Romans, is never presented as a bowman’.³

It shows that she does not know the *Aeneid*, as the first thing that Aeneas does upon landing in North Africa (*Aeneid* 1.180–194) is to use a bow to shoot seven deer to feed his followers. In *Aeneid* 4.142–50 Virgil also uses

the fine simile of Apollo, the archer god, to describe Aeneas as he prepares to go hunting with Dido. This presumably means that Aeneas is armed with bow and arrow for the hunt. She does admit that Ascanius, who is another Trojan ancestor of the Romans, uses a bow. Indeed, he brings on the fighting in the second half of the epic by wounding a pet stag with an arrow (7.496–9) and his first victim in war is shot with an arrow (9.590–4). The Trojans were known for their use of bows, and Greek vases often show Trojan warriors armed with them. She also seems to be confused about the nationality of those who use these weapons. She states that Mezentius, an Etruscan fighting for Turnus, uses a sling, a rock and an Etruscan torch rather than a sword. He uses a sling to attack defenders of the Trojan camp unreachable by sword (9.580). He uses an Etruscan torch to try to set fire to the Trojan camp (9.521–2). He uses a rock to smash the face of Latagus (10.698), perhaps because he has used his spear to fell Palus. He does indeed use these weapons at appropriate times. Her claim that he does not use a sword is undermined by the fact that he cuts Palus' hamstrings (10.699–700) and he is described in 8.570–1 as having 'put so many countrymen to the sword' (*tot ferro saeva dedisset funera*).

While it is true that the bow is not a usual weapon in Roman warfare, her claim that a spear is an example of Etruscan 'otherness' seems to be refuted by the fact that many in the *Aeneid* on both sides use spears to fight: for example Turnus kills Pallas with a spear, Mezentius showers Aeneas with spears, and Aeneas and Turnus fight most of their duel with spears. She conveniently ignores the fact that from the time of Marius (c100 BC) the first action of Roman soldiers in almost every battle was to hurl a volley of spears (the very efficient *pilum*). Truth is that practicality and common sense tend to govern the choice of weapons. After all it was a rock which turned the course of history in favour of western civilization, when a Spartan killed Mardonius with one at the battle of Plataea in 479 BC (Plutarch *Arist.* 19.1).

It is not surprising that she moves from the use of the bow and the spear to hunting. It is true that these are the weapons of choice for hunting, as a sword, in spite of the mosaic from Pella showing Alexander the Great attacking a lion with a sword, is not the most useful weapon when chasing animals or birds, as the painting from the tomb of Phillip II at Vergina shows. As the mosaics from Piazza Armerina show, those who went hunting in C3 AD used spears, were clothed and protected themselves with shields. Hunting is dangerous, as can be seen not only in the mosaics of the Great Hunt and the Small Hunt at Piazza Armerina, but also from the story of Odysseus' wounding by a boar in the Calydonian Boar Hunt (*Odyssey* 19.392ff) and the importance of boars' tusks helmets in the Mycenaean Age, which seem to be evidence of the bravery of the wearer, as he has killed many boars so that the helmet can be made. It is worth remembering, too, that Virgil uses two similes to illustrate the dangerousness of Mezentius near the end of *Aeneid* 10 – a wounded boar (10.707ff) and a lion (10.723).

In support of her argument Beatrice Bittarello says 'The Trojan Nisus goes hunting with bow, arrows and *iaculum* (9.176ff)' as evidence that the Etruscans fight that way. Again she seems to be muddling her races, as Nisus is not an Etruscan, but a Trojan, one of the people whom she claims as the ancestors of the Romans. She claims that the use of these weapons is a bad characteristic of the Etruscans, not the Romans. In fact, in a very Homeric-style passage, it is the huntress mountain Ida (*Ida venatrix*) which sends Nisus to war. When he attacks the sleeping Rutulians, he cuts off their heads with drawn sword, as does Euryalus too. She is trying to claim that, because they are hunters, the Etruscans fight like hunters. Her case is damaged by a tendency to quote selectively (as here) and out of context. If the Veientes fight in a particular way in their long struggle with Rome (Livy 5.7.2. and elsewhere), this pattern of behaviour cannot necessarily be applied to all Etruscans, especially the people of Caere who seem to have enjoyed a good relationship with Rome during the same period.

She links hunting to horses and cavalry so that she can claim that fighting on horseback is another example of Etruscan 'otherness'. Horses are, of course, helpful for hunting as the Vergina fresco and Piazza Armerina mosaics demonstrate. They are also useful for travel in wooded, hilly countryside such as that in southern Etruria. She ignores, however, the fact that the Romans often fought on horseback in their early history, as at Lake Regillus in 499 BC (Livy 2.19ff), and that those who replaced the kings were their cavalry bodyguard.⁴ I do not think that it is true that Livy presents the Romans as foot soldiers and the Etruscans as cavalry during the early wars of the republic, as she claims. The Roman cavalry, charging first, led to Cossus' success against Tolumnius in 437 BC (Livy 4.19). She believes that Livy is making 'a carefully calculated and consciously realized attempt to marginalize a prestigious civilization'.⁵ It seems to me that her case for Etruscan 'otherness' on the grounds of weapons, hunting and the use of cavalry lacks substance. She also uses Virgil's word *agrestis* (*Aeneid* 9.11) as evidence that the Etruscans are country bumpkins. To claim this is to ignore that many of the Etruscans lived a comfortable life (after all, she accuses them of a love of luxury!) in cities like Tarquinia and Vulci. She began this section of her article with the heading 'Mythical Etruria at war in the *Aeneid*, Livy, and the *Punica*'. It seems to me that the myth is in fact one of her own making and a figment of her imagination.

Her case for the use of bow and spear leads to an accusation of cowardice. Those who use these weapons are cowards because they do not fight at close quarters with swords. Following her logic, Hercules is a coward, as he often makes use of a bow, the Roman legionaries are cowards for using volleys of *pila* and Julius Caesar is a coward for attacking the hapless Britons with artillery on Deal beach in August 55 BC. She claims that cowardice is one of a long list of flaws ascribed to Etruscans in the *Aeneid*. To claim this is to indulge in hyperbole. I do not see Virgil accusing the Etruscans of a 'long list of flaws', especially that of cowardice. Her evidence for cowardice

is the behavior of the Etruscans under Tarchon in the face of Camilla (a Volscian who fights with a spear!) in Book 11. Tarchon (11.732–40) does accuse his men of cowardice in the face of Camilla. Isn't this what any commander would say to rally his men in the circumstances? The whole Camilla episode would lack its force, if she were not built up to be a formidable female warrior capable of slaughtering men.

She accuses the Etruscans of cowardice for making predatory raids against the Romans and for retreating into their towns when the Romans attacked them. She cites Livy (10.2.3) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus as evidence. Armstrong has shown that both Romans and Etruscans made predatory raids at this time.⁶ It would seem to be common sense to withdraw to the safety of a fortified town in the face of an invading enemy. Briquel warns against putting too much trust in what Dionysius says, as he is determined to show that Rome was a Greek city rather than one founded by barbarians.⁷

The other moral flaws of which she accuses the Etruscans are effeminacy, love of luxury, substantially different religious practices, and cruelty. It is true that Maecenas is criticised for his effeminacy and his love of luxury, but one could hardly accuse Sejanus of effeminacy. Does she claim that there were no Romans who had wealth and enjoyed a life of luxury? What about Crassus? The accusation of 'substantially different religious practices' seems odd, since the Romans adopted Etruscan practices, especially the art of divination for which they often used Etruscan augurs.

Her accusation of cruelty is based on Virgil's presentation of Mezentius. It is true that he is monstrously cruel and a *contemptor divum*. Evander explains to Aeneas (*Aeneid* 8.478ff) the reasons why Mezentius was expelled from Agylla (Caere) and thence from all Etruria. His worst offence was having living people roped to rotting corpses and leaving them to die. Virgil uses him as an example of how the Etruscans do not behave. It is interesting that he seeks refuge with Turnus and the Rutulians, who seem to be prepared to welcome such a vile tyrant, which would be akin to giving asylum to Pol Pot. Her accusation of cruelty against the Etruscans seems to be negated by the cruelty of the Romans themselves, whose cruelty in the arena was extreme, and who, on occasions, indulged in the wholesale slaughter of populations, as happened when Julius Caesar took Noviodunum in 57 BC.

Her final claim is that the Etruscans are from Lydia, the home of the wealthy Croesus. A recent book by Beekes (which is discussed in the Chapter 2) may confirm that they were indeed from Lydia, but not from the place identified as Lydia by Herodotus.⁸ Beekes claims that Lydia in Homer's time was further north on the shores of the Propontis and therefore the Lydians were neighbours of the Trojans, the ancestors of the Romans.⁹

I would argue that her case for Etruscan 'otherness', on which she bases her attack on Maecenas, for the most part fails, because she makes sweeping conclusions from limited and misunderstood examples. She does not know

her texts, nor does she use them wisely. A major problem is that she uses Virgil's examples of Etruscan behaviour in the heroic age as evidence for the behaviour of Etruscans in the early imperial age.

I turn now to her specific case against Maecenas. She begins her section on the Etruscan politicians as follows:

This section shows that the ancient biographical accounts of Maecenas, Sejanus and Otho, three politicians of Etruscan descent [who] lived in the age of the Julio-Claudians, tend to focus on certain specific elements, such as their Etruscan origin, wealth, relationship with their wives and with the emperor, moral flaws, ambition, political careers, and relationship with the sacred. The characterization of these politicians that emerges from their literary portraits is consistent with the Roman characterization of the Etruscans examined in the first part of this paper.¹⁰

The main sources for her attack on Maecenas are Seneca and Juvenal together with selective quotations from other ancient sources. She does grudgingly say:

'The portrait of Maecenas drawn by poets within his circle seems to be, at first glance, a rather positive one'.¹¹

I would suggest that it is at second glance too. She does not elaborate on the positive picture, because it would weaken her case. She also admits that his patronage of poets 'acquired proverbial status' in later writers such as Martial. She deals, however, with Maecenas' public roles on behalf of Augustus in a mere five lines and in no way does justice to his role during the Civil War and Augustus' absences from Rome. Even her chief witness, Seneca, in *de Beneficiis* 6.32.4 admits that the crisis of 2 BC would not have occurred if Maecenas had still been alive.¹² Although Seneca is highly critical of Maecenas, in *Epistulae Morales* 92.35 he admits that he was 'a man of noble and robust native gifts, but in prosperity he impaired these gifts by laxness'.¹³ She makes much of his possible role in the plot of Murena in 22 BC, though recent commentators such as Gordon Williams have argued against such involvement.¹⁴ She attacks him for being content to remain an *eques* and for being willing to retire from public life. She claims, too, that the *equites* were all 'Italic aristocracy or wealthy freedmen'. This is not true, although it is not surprising that many members of the *equites* were Italians fifty years after they had won citizenship in the Social Wars. Is it really a sin to want to retire from public life rather than become a member of the senate? The retirement of Maecenas from public life has already been discussed in Chapter 1.

It is his laxness which forms the basis of Seneca's attack on Maecenas in *Epistulae Morales* 114.5, a moral discourse on style as a mirror of character.¹⁵ His attack is on Maecenas' personal habits and lifestyle, such as his dress, his way of walking, his effeminacy, his literary style and his

way of speaking. It is important to remember that Seneca never saw Maecenas (he died before Seneca was born) so that this impression relies upon hearsay evidence. It would be given little weight in our court system. It must be conceded, however, that he would have been able to use his father, Seneca the Elder, as an important source of information for Maecenas, Agrippa and Augustus. What is much more significant to me is what Seneca does not say. Nowhere does he criticise Maecenas for the public roles which he fulfilled on behalf of Augustus. Nor does he claim that Maecenas had a thirst for power and wanted to restore the monarchy, as Bittarello claims. Avallone states that Seneca, the unlucky minister of Nero, couldn't help envying Maecenas, the most fortunate minister of Augustus.¹⁶

Other witnesses for her case for the prosecution are Juvenal, Tacitus and Suetonius. The satirist Juvenal (c. AD 55–130) criticises him twice.¹⁷ In the first of these (1.63–68) he refers to Maecenas' use of a litter in a part of the satire which is devoted to a catalogue of the criminals and undesirables who populate the streets of Rome. Although Juvenal is referring to a forger being carried in a litter, I do not think that he is suggesting that Maecenas is a forger so much as a very well-known Roman who used to be carried in a litter. In 12.37–39 he celebrates the survival of a friend, Catullus, in a storm at sea and describes how Catullus threw overboard expensive purple cloth fit for the likes of Maecenas. Tacitus (AD 56–117) claims that he had a sexual relationship with the ballet dancer Bathyllus.¹⁸ Cassius Dio identifies Bathyllus as a dancer and a favourite of Maecenas without actually suggesting a sexual relationship.¹⁹ The elder Seneca refers to Bathyllus as belonging to Maecenas when he admires the spirit of the young man's reply to Labienus which may have provoked a violent response.²⁰ So, two authors, who rarely resist the temptation to denigrate people, do not malign Maecenas on the question of a sexual relationship with Bathyllus when the opportunity is offered. Nor does Martial accuse him of homosexuality, but rather seems to suggest that he is heterosexual in 7.29 where he states that Maecenas is enraptured with Melaenis, unlike Virgil who is obsessed with the boy Alexis.²¹

The biographer, Suetonius (c. AD 69–140), refers to him twice in a derogatory manner in his *Divus Augustus*. The first of these is the most important, as it gives a possible reason for Maecenas' fall from favour.²² Suetonius points to the rareness of close friendships with Augustus and the lasting nature of them, as the emperor was prepared to forgive faults in his friends, as long they were not serious and a threat to his rule. Maecenas is blamed for his inability to remain quiet and is clearly forgiven for his indiscretion with his wife. Although he told his wife Terentia about the conspiracy involving her brother Murena, the leak did not prevent the quashing of the conspiracy. The second mention makes fun of Maecenas' style of writing and speaking.²³

Yet all these writers belong to the end of the first century and the first part of the second AD. They are not contemporaries of Maecenas and

must, therefore, have relied on hearsay evidence. Her final point is an interesting one. She suggests that ancient authors used false positives when discussing Maecenas, Sejanus and Otho. She uses Tacitus' positive picture of the suicide of Otho (*Hist.* 2.46–50) as an example. It seems more likely that Tacitus praises his suicide, because it is a noble Roman action and there has been little else to admire about Otho's life. Why should she think that ancient writers had to resort to such strange practices when they are blunt enough elsewhere? It seems to me to be another way of trying to bolster her weak argument – anything complimentary to these three in ancient writers would destroy her case and must, therefore, be untrue. Would she accept the idea that there might also be false negatives?

She concludes with this claim about the three:

'Maecenas, Sejanus, and Otho tend to behave as Mezentius and the Tarquins did; their alleged ambition, unrestrained passions, and excessive behavior are condemned because they are presented as threatening Rome's political stability'.²⁴

It may well be true that such claims could be mounted against Sejanus and Otho, but they cannot be sustained against Maecenas. She likens the three of them to Mezentius and the Tarquins. I see no evidence that Maecenas was cruel like Mezentius or a tyrant and aspiring monarch like the Tarquins. While discussing Sejanus and Otho, she repeatedly says of them 'like Maecenas' e.g. 'Just like Maecenas, Otho is proud of his vices', when her claims cannot be supported by evidence from ancient authors, although Seneca (*Ep.* 114.4) claims that Maecenas did not want his faults to be hidden.²⁵ It seems to me that the only real link between these three is that they are Etruscan. To make the claims that she does is akin to claiming that Martin Luther King, Barack Obama and Tiger Woods all have the same morals, code of behaviour and lust for power because they are African Americans.

Beatrice Bittarello fails in her case to establish the 'otherness' of the Etruscans in the Augustan age. She also fails to provide supportable evidence that Maecenas should in any way be linked to Sejanus and Otho other than the fact that they are all of Etruscan descent.

Notes

- 1 My rejection of the argument put forward by Bittarello was initially part of my chapter on Maecenas, but it seemed more appropriate to relegate it to an appendix so that it did not distract from the argument of the chapter.
- 2 Bittarello (2009, 211–33).
- 3 Bittarello (2009, 214–15).
- 4 Alföldi (1971, 399).
- 5 Bittarello (2009, 213).
- 6 Armstrong, J (2011) *Clans and the State: The Economy of Warfare in the Early Roman Republic*. A paper delivered at the ASCS conference in 2011.

- 7 Briquel (2000).
- 8 Beekes (2003).
- 9 Beekes' thesis was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.
- 10 Bittarello (2009, 219).
- 11 Bittarello (2009, 220).
- 12 Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.4. (Extract 57).
- 13 Sen. *Ep.* 92.35. (Extract 51).
- 14 Williams (1990).
- 15 Sen. *Ep.* 114.4–8. (Extract 53).
- 16 Avallone (1962, 60–1).
- 17 Juv. *Sat.* 1.63–68, 12.37–39. (Extracts 81 and 83).
- 18 Tac. *Ann.* 1.54. (Extract 84).
- 19 Cass. Dio 54.17.4–5. (Extract 136).
- 20 Sen. *Controv* 10 *praefatio* 8. (Extract 41).
- 21 Mart. 7.29. (Extract 71).
- 22 Suet. *Div. Aug.* 66.1–3. (Extract 98).
- 23 Suet. *Div. Aug.* 86.2. (Extract 100).
- 24 Bittarello (2009, 229).
- 25 Bittarello (2009, 225).

Appendix D

Consolatio ad Liviam

*visa diu felix, "mater" modo dicta Neronum
iam tibi dimidiam nominis huius abest;
iam legis in Drusum miserabile, Livia, carmen,
unum qui dicat iam tibi "mater" habes,
nec tua te pietas distendit amore duorum, 5
nec posito fili nomine dicis 'uter?'"*
*et quisquam leges audet tibi dicere flendi
et quisquam lacrimas temperat ore tuas?
ei mihi, quam facile est, quamvis hic contigit omnes,
alterius luctu fortia verba loqui: 10*
*"scilicet exiguo percussa es fulminis ictu,
fortior ut possis cladibus esse tuis."*
*occidit exemplum iuvenis venerabile morum:
maximus ille armis, maximus ille toga.
ille modo eripuit latebrosas hostibus Alpes 15
et titulum belli dux duce fratre tulit:*
*ille genus Suevos acre indomitosque Sicambros
contudit inque fugam barbara terga dedit,
ignotumque tibi meruit, Romane, triumphum,
protulit in terras imperiumque novas. 20*
*solvere vota Iovi fatorum ignara tuorum,
mater, et armiferae solvere vota deae
gradivumque patrem donis implere parabas
et quoscumque coli est iusque piumque deos,
maternaque sacros agitabas mente triumphos, 25
forsitan et curae iam tibi currus erat.*
*funera pro sacris tibi sunt ducenda triumphis
et tumulus Drusum pro Iovis arce manet.
fingebas reducem praeceptaque mente fovebas
gaudia et ante oculos iam tibi victor erat: 30*
*"iam veniet, iam me gratantem turba videbit,
iam mihi pro Druso dona ferenda meo.
obvia progrediar felixque per oppida dicar*

<i>collaque et hoc oculos illius ore premam. talīs erit, sic occurret, sic oscula iunget; hoc mihi narrabit, sic prior ipsa loquar.” gaudia magna foves: spem pone, miserrima, falsam; desine de Druso laeta referre tuo. Caesaris illud opus, voti pars altera vestri, occidit: indignas, Livia, solve comas.</i>	35
<i>quid tibi nunc mores prosunt actumque pudice omne aevum et tanto tam placuisse viro? quidque pudicitia tantum cumulassem bonorum, ultima sit laudes inter ut ulla tuas? quid, tenuisse animum contra sua saecula rectum, altius et vitii exersuisse caput? nec nocuisse ulli et fortunam habuisse nocendi, nec quemquam nervos extimuisse tuos? nec vires errasse tuas campove forove quamque licet citra constituisse domum?</i>	40
<i>nampe per hos etiam Fortunae iniuria mores regnat et incerta est hic quoque nixa rota; hic quoque sentitur: ne quid non improba carpat, saevit et iniustum ius sibi ubique facit. scilicet immunis si luctus una fuisset Livia, Fortunae regna minora forent. quid si non habitu sic se gessisset in omni, ut sua non essent invidiosa bona? Caesaris adde domum, quae certe, funeris expers, debit humanis altior esse malis.</i>	45
<i>ille vigil, summa sacer ipse locatus in arce, res hominum ex tuto cernere dignus erat, nec fletu ipse suis nec quemquam flere suorum nec, quae nos patimur vulgus, et ipse pati; vidimus erepta maerentem stirpe sororis: luctus, ut in Druso, publicus ille fuit; condidit Agrippam quo te, Marcelle, sepulcro, et cepit generos iam locus ille duos; vix posito Agrippa tumuli bene ianua clausa est, percipit officium funeris ecce soror.</i>	50
<i>ecce ter ante datis iactura novissima Drusus a magno lacrimas Caesare quartus habet. claudite iam, Parcae, nimium reserata sepulcra, claudite: plus iusto iam domus ista patet. cedis, et incassum tua nomina, Druse, levantur ultima: sit fati summa querela tui. iste potest implere dolor vel saecula tota et magni luctus obtinuisse locum.</i>	55
	60
	65
	70
	75

multi in te amissi, nec tu, tot turba bonorum,
omnis cui virtus contigit, unus eras, 80
nec genetrice tua fecundior ulla parentum,
tot bona per partus quae dedit una duos.
heu, par illud ubi est totidem virtutibus aequum
et concors pietas nec dubitatus amor?
vidimus attonitum fraterna morte Neronem 85
pallida promissa flere per ora coma,
dissimilemque sui, vultu profitente dolorem:
ei mihi, quam toto luctus in ore fuit!
tu tamen extremo moriturum tempore fratrem
vidisti, lacrimas vidit et ille tuas, 90
affigique suis moriens tua pectora sensit
et tenuit vultu lumina fixa tuo,
lumina caerulea iam iamque natantia morte,
lumina fraternas iam subitura manus.
at miseranda parens suprema neque oscula legit, 95
frigida nec fovit membra tremante sinu;
non animam apposito fugientem excepit hiatus
nec sparsit caesas per tua membra comas.
raptus es absenti, dum te fera bella morantur,
utilior patriae quam tibi, Druse, tuae. 100
liquitur, ut quondam zephyris et solibus ictae
solvuntur tenerae vere tepente nives;
tu queritur casusque malos irrisaque vota
accusatque annos ut diuturna suos.
talis in umbrosis, mitis nunc denique, silvis 105
deflet Threicium Daulias ales Ityn;
Alcyonum tales ventosa per aequora questus
ad surdas tenui voce sonantur aquas;
sic plumosa novis plangentes pectora pinnis
Oeniden subitas concinuistis aves; 110
sic flevit Clymene, sic et Clymeneides, alte
cum iuvenis patriis excidit ictus equis.
congelat interdum lacrimas duratque tenetque
suspensasque, oculis fortiori, intus agit:
erumpunt iterumque lavant gremiumque sinusque, 115
effusae gravidis uberibusque genis.
in vires abiit flendi mora: plenior unda
defluit, exigua siqua retenta mora.
tandem ubi per lacrimas licuit, sic flebilis orsa est
singultu medios impediante sonos: 120
“nate, brevis fructus, duplicis sors altera partus,
gloria confectae, nate, parentis, ubi es?
heu, modo tantus, ubi es? tumulto portaris et igni.

<i>haec sunt in reditus dona paranda tuos?</i>	
<i>heu, modo tantus, ubi es? tumulo portaris et igni.</i>	125
<i>haec sunt in reditus dona paranda tuos?</i>	
<i>sicine dignus eras oculis occurrere matris?</i>	
<i>sic ego te reducem digna videre fui?</i>	
<i>Caesaris uxori sit talia dicere fas est,</i>	
<i>iam dubito, magnos an rear esse deos.</i>	130
<i>nam quid ego admisi? quae non ego numina cultu,</i>	
<i>quos ego non potui demeruisse deos?</i>	
<i>hic pietatis honos? artus amplector inanes:</i>	
<i>et vorat hos ipsos flamma rogosque sinus.</i>	
<i>tene ego sustineo positum scelerata videre?</i>	135
<i>tene meae poterunt ungere, nate, manus?</i>	
<i>nunc ego te infelix summum teneoque tuorque</i>	
<i>effingoque manus oraque ad ora fero?</i>	
<i>nunc primum aspiceris consul victorque parenti?</i>	
<i>sic mihi, sic miserae nomina tanta refers?</i>	140
<i>quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,</i>	
<i>et vidi eversos indiciumque mali.</i>	
<i>quis credit? matri lux haec carissima venit,</i>	
<i>qua natum in summo vidit honore suum?</i>	
<i>iamne ego non felix? iam pars mihi rapta Neronum,</i>	145
<i>materni celebrer nomine Drusus avi?</i>	
<i>iamne meus non est nec me facit ille parentem?</i>	
<i>iamne fui Drusi mater et ipse fuit?</i>	
<i>nec eum victorem referetur adesse Neronem,</i>	
<i>dicere iam potero 'maior an alter adest?'</i>	150
<i>ultima contigimus: ius matris habemus ab uno,</i>	
<i>unius est munus quod tamen orba negor.</i>	
<i>me miseram, extimui frigusque per ossa cucurrit:</i>	
<i>nil ego iam possum certa vocare meum.</i>	
<i>hic meus esse fuit: iubet hic de fratre vereri;</i>	155
<i>omnia iam metuo: fortiori ante fui.</i>	
<i>sospite te saltem moriar, Nero: tum ea condas</i>	
<i>lumina et excipias hanc animam ore pio.</i>	
<i>atque utinam Drusi manus altera et altera fratris</i>	
<i>formarent oculos comprimerentque meos.</i>	160
<i>quod licet, hoc certe, tumulo ponemur in uno,</i>	
<i>Druse, neque ad veteres conditus ibis avos;</i>	
<i>miscebor cinerique cinis atque ossibus ossa:</i>	
<i>hanc lucem celeri turbine Parca neat."</i>	
<i>haec et plura refert: lacrimae sua verba sequuntur</i>	165
<i>oraeque nequiquam per modo questa fluunt.</i>	
<i>quin etiam corpus matri vix vixque remissum</i>	
<i>exsequiis caruit, Livia, paene suis.</i>	

quippe ducem arsuris exercitus omnis in armis,
 inter quae periit, ponere certus erat: 170
 abstulit invitis corpus venerabile frater
 et Drusum patriae quod licuitve dedit.
 funera ducuntur Romana per oppida Drusi,
 (heu facinus) per quae victor iturus erat,
 per quae deletis Raetorum venerat armis: 175
 ei mihi, quam dispar huic fuit illud iter.
 consul init fractis maerentem fascibus Urbem:
 quid faceret victus, sic ubi victor init?
 maesta domus plangore sonat, cui figere laetus
 parta sua dominus voverat arma manu. 180
 Urbs gemit et vultum miserabilis induit unum –
 gentibus adversis forma sit illa, precor!
 incerti clauduntque domos trepidantque per Urbem,
 hic illic pavidi clamque palamque dolent.
 iura silent mutaeque tacent sine vindice leges; 185
 aspicitur toto purpura nulla foro.
 dique latent templis neque iniqua ad funera vultus
 praebent nec poscunt tura ferenda rogo:
 obscuros delubra tenent; pudet ora colentum
 aspicere invidiae, quam meruere, metu. 190
 atque aliquis de plebe pius pro pauper nato
 sustulerat timidas sidera ad alta manus,
 iamque precaturus “quid ego autem credulus’ inquit
 ‘suscipiam in nullos irrita vota deos?
 Livia, non illos pro Druso Livia movit: 195
 nos erimus magno maxima cura Iovi!”
 dixit et iratus vota insuscepta reliquit
 duravitque animum destituitque preces.
 obvia turba ruit lacrimisque rigantibus ora
 consulis erepti publica damna refert. 200
 omnibus idem oculi, par est concordia flendi:
 funeris exsequiis adsumus omnis eques;
 omnis adest aetas, maerent iuvenesque senesque,
 Ausoniae matres Ausoniaeque nurus.
 auctorisque sui praefertur imagine maesta 205
 quae victrix templis debita laurus erat.
 certat onus lecti generosa subire iuventus
 et studet officio sedula colla dare.
 et voce et lacrimis laudasti, Caesar, alummum,
 tristia cum medius rumperet orsa dolor. 210
 tu letum optasti, dis aversantibus omen,
 par tibi, si sinerent te tua fata mori.
 sed tibi debetur caelum, te fulmine pollens

accipiet cupidi regia magna Iovis.
 quod petiit tulit ille, tibi ut sua facta placerent, 215
 magnaue laudatus praemia mortis habet.
 armataeque rogum celebrant de more cohortes:
 has pedes exsequias reddit equesque duci.
 te clamore vocant iterumque iterumque supremo;
 at vox adversis collibus icta redit. 220
 ipse pater flavis Tiberinus adhorruit undis,
 sustulit et medio nubilus amne caput.
 tum salice implexum muscoque et hirundine crinem
 caeruleum magna legit ab ore manu
 uberibusque oculis lacrimarum flumina misit: 225
 vix capit adiectas alveus altus aquas.
 iamque rogi flammam exstinguere fluminis ictu,
 corpus et intactum tollere certus erat;
 sustentabat aquas cursusque inhibebat ad aequor,
 ut posset toto proluere amne rogum; 230
 sed Mavors, templo vicinus et accola Campi,
 tot dixit siccis verba neque ipse genis:
 "quamquam amnes decet ira, tamen, Tiberine, quiescas:
 non tibi, non ullis vincere fata datur.
 iste meus periit: periit arma inter et enses 235
 et dux pro patria: funere causa latet.
 quod potui tribuisse, dedi: victoria parta est:
 auctor abit operis, sed tamen extat opus.
 quondam ego tentavi Clothoque duasque sorores,
 police quae certo pensa severa trahunt, 240
 ut Remus Iliades et frater conditor Urbis
 effugerent aliqua stagna profunda via.
 de tribus una mihi 'partem accipe quae datur' inquit
 'muneris; ex istis quod petis alter erit.
 hic tibi, mox veneri Caesar promissus uterque: 245
 hos debet solos Martia Roma deos.'
 sic cecinere deae: nec tu, Tiberine, repugna,
 irrita nec flammam amne morare tuo,
 nec iuvenis positi supremos destrue honores.
 vade age et immissis labere pronus aquis." 250
 paret et in longum spatiosas explicat undas
 structaque pendent pumice tecta subit.
 flamma diu cunctata caput contingere sanctum
 erravit posito lenta sub usque toro.
 tandem ubi complexa est silvas alimenta sumpsit. 255
 aethera subiectis lambit et astra comis,
 qualis in Herculeae colluxit collibus Oetae,
 cum sunt imposito membra cremata deo.

uritur heu decor ille viri generosaque forma
 et facilis vultus, uritur ille vigor 260
 victricesque manus facundaque principis ora
 pectoraque, ingenii magna capaxque domus.
 spes quoque multorum flammis uruntur in isdem;
 iste rogus miserae viscera matris habet.
 facta ducis vivent operosaque gloria rerum: 265
 haec manet, haec avidos effugit una rogos.
 pars erit historiae totoque legetur in aevo
 seque opus ingeniis carminibusque dabit.
 stabis et in rostris tituli speciosus honore,
 causaque dicemur nos tibi, Druse, necis. 270
 at tibi ius veniae superses, Germania, nullum:
 postmodo tu poenas, barbare, morte dabis.
 aspiciam regum liventia colla catenis
 duraque per saevas vincula nexa manus
 et tandem trepidos vultus inque illa ferocum 275
 invitis lacrimas decidere ora genis.
 spiritus ille minax et Drusi morte superbus
 carnifici in maesto carcere dandus erit.
 consistam lentisque oculis laetusque videbo
 strata per obscenas corpora nuda vias. 280
 hunc Aurora diem spectacula tanta ferentem
 quam primum croceis roscida portet equis!
 adice Ledaeos, concordia sidera, fratres
 templaque Romano conspicienda foro.
 quam parvo numeros implevit principis aevo, 285
 in patriam meritis occubuitque senex!
 nec sua conspiciet (miserum me) munera Drusus
 nec sua prae templi nomina fronte leget.
 saepe Nero inlacrimans summissa voce loquetur
 “cur adeo fratres heu sine fratre deos?” 290
 certus eras numquam nisi victor, Druse, reverti;
 haec te debuerant tempora: victor eras.
 consule nos, duce nos, duce iam victore caremus:
 invenit tota maeror in Urbe locum.
 at comitum squalent immissis ora capillis, 295
 infelix, Druso sed pia turba suo.
 quorum aliquis tendens in te sua brachia dixit
 “cur sine me, cur sic incomitatus abis?”
 quid referam de te, dignissima coniuge Druso
 atque eadem Drusi digna parente nurus? 300
 par bene compositum: iuvenum fortissimus alter,
 altera tam forti mutua cura viro.
 femina tu princeps, tu filia Caesaris illi

nec minor es magni coniuge visa Iovis.
tu concessus amor, tu solus et ultimus illi, 305
tu requies fesso grata laboris eras.
te moriens per verba novissima questus abesse
et mota in nomen frigida lingua tuum.
infelix recipis non quem promiserat ipse,
nec qui missus erat, nec tuus ille redit, 310
nec tibi deletos poterit narrare Sicambros,
ensibus et Suevos terga dedisse suis,
fluminaque et montes et nomina magna locorum
et siquid miri vidit in orbe novo.
frigidus ille tibi corpusque refertur inane, 315
quemque premat sine te sternitur ecce torus.
quo raperis laniata comas similisque furenti?
quo ruis? attonita quid petis ora manu?
hoc fuit Andromache, cum vir religatus ad axem
terrui admissos sanguinolentus equos; 320
hoc fuit Evadne tum, cum ferienda coruscis
fulminibus Capaneus impavida ora dedit.
quid mortem tibi maesta rogas amplexaque natos
pignora de Drusi sola relictas tenes,
et modo per somnos agitaris imagine falsa 325
teque tuo Drusum credis habere sinu,
et subito temptasque manu sperasque receptum,
quaeris et in vacui parte priore tori?
ille pio, si non temere haec creduntur, in arvo
inter honoratos excipietur avos, 330
magnaue maternis maioribus, aequa paternis
gloria quadriiugis aureus ibit equis,
regalique habitu curruque superbus eburno
fronde triumphali tempora vinctus erit.
accipient iuvenem Germanica signa ferentem 335
consulis imperio conspicuumque decus,
gaudebuntque suae merito cognomina gentis,
quod solum domito victor ab hoste tulit.
vix credent tantum rerum cepisse tot annos,
magna viri latum quaerere facta locum. 340
haec ipsum sublime ferent, haec, optima mater,
debuerint luctus attenuare tuos.
femina digna illis quos aurea condidit aetas,
principibus natis, principe digna viro,
quid deceat Drusi matrem matremque Neronis 345
aspice, quo surgas, aspice, mane toro.
non eadem vulgusque decent et lumina rerum:
est quod praecipuum debeat ista domus.

imposuit te alto *Fortuna* locumque tueri
 iussit honoratum: *Livia*, perfer onus. 350
 ad te oculos auresque trahis, tua facta notamus,
 nec vox missa potest principis ore tegi.
 alta mane supraque tuos exsurge dolores
 infragilemque animum, quod potes, usque tene.
 an melius per te virtutum exempla petemus, 355
 quam si *Romanae* principis edis opus?
 fata manent omnes, omnes expectat avarus
 fortiter portitor et turbae vix satis una ratis.
 tendimus huc omnes, metam properamus ad unam,
 omnia sub leges *Mors* vocat atra suas. 360
 ecce necem intentam caelo terraeque fretoque
 casurumque triplex vaticinantur opus:
 i nunc et rebus tanta impendente ruina
 in te solam oculos et tua damna refer.
 maximus ille quidem iuvenum spes publica vixit 365
 et qua natus erat gloria summa domus;
 sed mortalis erat: nec tu segura fuisti
 fortia progenie bella gerente tua.
 vita data est utenda, data est sine faenore nobis
 mutua nec certa persolvenda die. 370
Fortuna arbitriis tempus dispensat iniquis:
 illa rapit iuvenes, sustinet illa senes,
 quaque ruit furibunda ruit totumque per orbem
 fulminat et caecis caeca triumphat equis.
 regna deae immitis parce irritare querendo, 375
 sollicitare animos parce potentis erae.
 quae tamen hoc uno tristis tibi tempore venit,
 saepe eadem rebus favit amica tuis.
 nata quod alte es quodque es fetibus aucta duobus,
 quodque etiam magno consociata *Iovi*, 380
 quod semper domito rediit tibi *Caesar* ab orbe,
 gessit et invicta prospera bella manu.
 quod spes implerunt maternaque vota *Nerones*,
 quod pulsus totiens hostis utroque duce –
Rhenus et *Alpinae* valles et sanguine nigro 385
 decolor infecta testis *Isargus* aqua,
*Danuvium*que rapax et *Dacius* orbe remoto
Apulus (huic hosti perbreve *Pontus* iter)
*Armenius*que fugax et tandem *Dalmata* supplex
 summaque disperse per iuga *Pannonii*, 390
 et modo *Germanus* *Romanis* cognitus orbis;
 aspice quam meritis culpa sit una minor.
 adde quod est absens functus nec cernere nati

semineces oculos sustinueret tui,
 qui dolor et menti lenissimus influit aegrae, 395
 accipere es luctus aure coacta tuos,
 praevertitque metus per longa pericula luctum,
 tu quibus auditis anxia mentis eras:
 non es praecipiti dolor in tua pectora venit,
 sed per mollitos ante timore gradus. 400
 Iuppiter ante dedit fati mala signa cruenti,
 flammifera petiit cum tria templa manu:
 Iunonisque gravis nocte impavidaque Minervae
 sanctaque et immensi Caesaris icta domus.
 sidera quin etiam caelo fugisse feruntur, 405
 Lucifer et solitas destituisse vias:
 Lucifer in toto nulli comparuit orbe
 et venit stella non praeceunte dies:
 sideris hoc obitum terris instare monebat
 et mergi Stygia nobile lumen aqua. 410
 at tu, qui superes maestae solacia matri,
 comprecor, illi ipsi conspiciare senex.
 perque annos diuturnus eas fratrisque tuosque
 et vivat nato cum sene mater anus.
 eventura precor: deus excusare priora 415
 dum volet, a Druso cetera laeta dabit.
 tu tamen ausa potes tanto indulgere dolori,
 longius ut nolis (heu male fortis) ali.
 vix etiam fueras paucas vitalis in horas,
 obtulit invitae cum tibi Caesar opem; 420
 admovitque preces et ius immiscuit illis
 aridaque affusa guttura tinxit aqua.
 nec minor est nato servandae cura parentis:
 hic adhibet blandas, nec sine iure, preces.
 coniugis et nati meritum pervenit ad omnis; 425
 coniugis et nati, Livia, sospes ope es.
 supprime iam lacrimas: non est revocabilis istis,
 quem semel umbrifera navita lintre tulit.
 Hectors tot fratres, tot deflevit sorores
 et pater et coniunx Astyanaxque puer 430
 et longaeva parens: tamen ille redemptus ad ignes
 nullaque per Stygias umbra renavit aquas.
 contigit hoc etiam Thetidi: populator Achilles
 Iliaca ambustis ossibus arva premit.
 illi caeruleum Panope matertera crinem 435
 solvit et immensas fletibus auxit aquas,
 consortesque deae centum longaevaque magni
 Oceani coniunx Oceanusque pater

et Thetis ante omnes: sed nec Thetis ipsa neque omnes
mutarunt avidi tristia iura dei. 440
prisca quid huc repeto? Marcellum Octavia flevit
et flevit populo Caesar utrumque palam.
sed rigidum ius est et inevitabile Mortis,
stant rata non ulla fila tenenda manu.
ipse tibi emissus nebulosum litus Averni, 445
si liceat, forti verba tot ore sonet:
"quid numeras annos? vixi maturior annis:
acta senem faciunt: haec numeranda tibi,
his aevum fuit implendum, non segnibus annis:
hostibus eveniat longa senecta meis. 450
hoc atavi monuere mei proavique Neronēs
(fregerunt ambo Punica bella duces),
hoc domus ista docet, per te mea, Caesaris alti:
exitus hic, mater, debuit esse meus.
nec meritis (quamquam ipsa iuvant magis) afuit illis, 455
mater, honos: titulis nomina plena vides.
consul et ignoti victor Germanicus orbis,
cui fuit heu mortis publica causa, legor:
cingor Apollinea victricia tempora lauro
et sensit exsequias funeris ipse mei, 460
decursusque virum notos mihi donaque regum
cunctaque per titulos oppida lecta suos,
et quo me officio portaverit illa iuventus,
quae fuit ante meum iam generosa torum.
denique laudari sacrato Caesaris ore 465
emerui, lacrimas elicuique deo.
et cuiquam miserandus ero? Iam comprime fletus.
hoc ego qui flendi sum tibi causa rogo."
haec sentit Drusus, si quid modo sentit in umbra,
nec tu de tanto crede minora viro. 470
est tibi (sitque precor) multorum filius instar
parsque tui partus sit tibi salva prior;
est coniunx, tutela hominum, quo sospite vestram,
Livia, funestam dedecet esse domum.

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